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ABSTRACT

Balance academic and maturational needs of students and maintain both academic standards and the quality of an expanding school environment are the recommendations of six independent school heads. Their responses in this book of essays are to critics of secondary education who propose (1) that more education should take place outside the school in internships and work experiences; (2) that youth should study with learners of all ages in "intergenerational" learning environments; (3) that youth should be granted more responsibility and independence by their schools; (4) that school should concentrate on preparing students for a gradual transition to adulthood by being as concerned with social maturation as they now are with academic development. These proposals come from numerous national reports published since 1972. While generally supporting the proposals of the reformers, the school heads--all practicing school principals--have written essays on issues seen by the panel as receiving inadequate attention in the reports. Topics include the environment of the school in the late 70s, the curriculum, the measurement and evaluation of learning given the introduction of off-campus learning into the school program, the tasks of adolescence, and the changing role of the school head. (Author/MLF)

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the EXPANDING SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

A RESPONSE BY THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL COMMENTARY PANEL TO RECENT STUDIES OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

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The Commission on Educational Issues is an affiliate of the National Association of Independent Schools, established to define and advocate an enlarged public mission for the independent school and to relate the activities of these schools to the broader issues in education.

– R.A.Z.

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INTRODUCTION

> "The major educational reform movement of the mid-1970s has arrived."
>
> – William Van Til, Coffman Distinguished Professor in Education, Indiana State University, in *Phi Delta Kappan*, March, 1975.

Since 1972, several significant and independent reports on youth and secondary education have called forth many equally significant and independent responses, and generated continuing debate. The national dialogue has continued and the "reform movement" has gained momentum in part because the original reports are mutually supportive and make proposals very similar in general outline. In addition, the responses to these reports, even when critical of specific proposals or sections of reports, have tended also to support the basic assumptions and recommendations of the original reports.

Van Til's single paragraph summary of these reports in the same article quoted above, defines their commonality:

> The mid-1970s high school reform proposals encompass a variety of problems and are naturally different from each other to some degree. *In general*, however, the reports are critical of contemporary high schools as too-large, age-segregated, overly separated, quasi-custodial environments for adolescents which do not sufficiently provide youth a transition to maturity and the adult world of work and community participation. *In general*, the reports support smaller, more diverse, age-integrated, and community-related schools characterized by both academic and action learning and supplemented by alternative paths to maturity through experiential learning by way of business-industry work organizations, social involvement opportunities, and community education centers.[1]

For the past six months, under a grant from the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation administered by the Commission on Educational Issues, the heads of six independent schools have been evaluating the educational reform movement of the mid-70s, so as to frame an independent school response to these reports. They have

done so well aware that "an independent school response" is somewhat of a contradiction in terms. The essays of these heads make one aware of the variety of responses independent schools bring to every educational question. Even when there is agreement in substance, style and emphasis suggest significant difference.

It seems prudent to attempt a definition of the category of schools these heads represent. As a group independent schools are defined by their form of governance: all are ultimately responsible to their own boards of trustees, and free within the limits of law to develop their own modes of operation. Some are loosely affiliated with other schools sharing similar purposes, but retain a distinct sense of autonomy. All are "non-public" (better non-governmental) schools, but many are unhappy with this designation because they see themselves as serving a very definite public purpose.

The diversity of independent schools has dictated the format chosen for this booklet. Rather than attempt over six months and in three day-long meetings to hammer out an inconsequential concensus, we asked the six heads, at that point working from summaries, to identify issues in the reports which required response. Three major issues – the purpose of secondary education, the isolation of the school from society, and the "dejuvenilization" of the schools – were identified and two headmasters were selected to consider each of these topics. Five secondary issues, all of which came to have more importance than we first realized, were also identified and assigned to individuals. The heads then began intensive reading and writing. Papers were shared at various stages in the process, work in progress was discussed at two of the three day-long meetings, and revisions were inevitably the product of spirited give and take. By necessity, but also characteristically, the independent school heads worked on their commentaries independently.

A few additional general observations about our work should be made. As we worked we were well aware that the reports we were discussing were already three to five years old. It is a tribute to these reports that although we acknowledged ways in which they were dated, we felt that the basic issues they raise are still very significant ones, and in need of serious discussion. In our papers we believe we have acknowledged the substantive issues of the reports but reacted to them out of the present. Our distance from the reports in part explains a difference in approach in the groups of essays. The first three essays and comments develop

naturally out of the reports; the remaining essays are more exploratory and individualistic, and focus on areas in need of more attention than the reports gave them.

At the inception of this project, we decided that the independent school response should be framed by practitioners. All of the essayists are currently heads of schools, who agreed to work over summer vacation and through the opening of school to write their responses and meet to discuss them. Since few school principals were members of the three major commissions that studied secondary education, and principals have not been heavily represented in the responses to these studies, we felt the reactions of a panel totally composed of practitioners might add significantly to the ongoing debate that the original reports has provoked.

Moreover, as suggested in one of the papers below, if these reports are to have any lasting significance the debate will have to move from the theoretical to practical. The heads involved in the commentary have already tested some of the assumptions and recommendations through programs in their schools, and their support or criticism of the recommendations is the more meaningful because they are practitioners, though practitioners who never seem to lose sight of the broad goals of education.

What follows immediately is a summary of the reports of three commissions and two conferences that set in motion this review of secondary education. Following that is the "charge" to the heads in which I attempted to set our course. At the end of the booklet is a bibliography of responses to these reports by other groups and organizations, many of which have been read in part or summary form by the essayists. But in the main, the responses of the heads are not analyses of the current literature of the reform movement; rather, they are the responses of six heads whose bibliographies are their day to day experience in schools, working directly with a portion of the youth that are the subject of the reformers' reports.

– Dick Zajchowski

Footnotes

[1]William Van Til, "Reform of the High School in the Mid-1970s," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 56:7 (March, 1975), p. 493.

SUMMARY OF THE ORIGINAL REPORTS AND A CHARGE TO THE PANEL

William Van Til, whose quotation announcing the educational reform movement of the mid-70's began the preceding chapter, in the same article outlines the major reform movements of the twentieth century in American education, and contrasts those from the late 1950's to the early 1970's with the present reform movement. He notes the progression from "the comprehensive high school advocacy of the late 1950's and early 1960's;" to the subject-by-subject approach, organizational innovations, and compensatory education for the culturally disadvantaged of the 60's; to career education and open education of the late 60's and early 70's.[1] By putting the present reform movement into this historical context, Van Til suggests that the current movement answers to and builds on earlier reports and dialogue; that it is broader in scope than may be initially apparent; and that the "mavericks" of the 60's and 70's (the "compassionate critics," the deschoolers, and the alternative schoolers) have significantly influenced the present dialogue.

When one considers the extent of the reform literature since the 50's, the present movement does seem like a culmination of sorts, and justification for A. Harry Passow's observation:

> It could well be that a combination of forces including better communication media, a press for community involvement and control, a youth population which differs from its predecessors, a new or at least different teaching profession; and better insights from the social and behavioral scientists could produce the conditions necessary for change being advocated. If so, the prospects for reforming secondary education are good – or at least better than they have been at any time since we began shaping America's high schools. Surely the need for reform has been established.[2]

This need for reform has been established by the five reports which are summarized below. They demonstrate Van Til's contention that "a major reform movement may be said to have officially arrived when it receives the sanction and the blessing of influential philanthropic institutions, government agencies, educational organizations, and/or assorted prestigious committees and commis-

sions."[3] I have attempted in the summaries to indicate the points of convergence as well as the different quadrants from which each group has done its sighting.[4]

> *Youth: Transition to Adulthood, a Report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee, under the chairmanship of James S. Coleman (University of Chicago Press, 1974), hereafter, Coleman.*

This Coleman report (sometimes called Coleman II, to distinguish it from Coleman's earlier report on inequality) is the key document in the 70's reform movement perhaps because it moved the focus of discussion away from the high school. The Coleman panel – composed of sociologists – set out to study youth, not schools. Its report is the most comprehensive and carefully reasoned of the national reports.

The Coleman report is a study of the age group 14-24, and of the social context in which this age group matures. The panel studied trends since the 19th century in age grouping, the legal rights of youth, demography, the economics of youth, and educational institutions, in addition to examining the youth culture and the biological, psychological and socio-cultural aspects of adolescence and youth. The Coleman report documents in a powerful way the changing social context in which youth has matured, and offers some tentative and qualified recommendations for changes in the education of youth based on these social changes. Subsequent responses to this report have questioned methodology and interpretation, but few to my knowledge have seriously questioned the general drift of the panel's observations on changes in the social context of youth.

Coleman's panel seeks to identify those environments in which youth can best grow into adults, in all ways, not merely intellective ones, and it begins with the assumption that school as now constituted is not a complete environment "for the accomplishment of many important facets of maturation." On the basis of its research it finds:

- Historically, work – economic productivity – has been a significant factor in youth's transition to adulthood. Recently the young have kept out of production in order to increase their eventual opportunities, and therefore schooling has become a more significant factor.

- Youth spend more time in school and away from adults than in years past; and within the school, age segregation is the usual form of organization. Both age integration within the school and more contact with adults would be more desirable.
- Although there has been an evolutionary increase of rights for young adults, there is still much overprotectiveness.
- Current schooling patterns make youth economically dependent on families for an increasingly longer time.
- Young people are responsive to shifting job opportunity patterns, but there is little assurance that there will be sufficient professional jobs for the increasing number of college graduates.
- The 60's were unique in the heavy concentration of population in the 14-24 age group, and this bulge led to a strain on institutions serving this group.
- Legal and institutional structures such as minimum wage laws artificially constrain good individual decisions about employment vs. schooling.
- High schools have become too large and homogeneous; higher education has become more diverse and accessible. These factors have contributed to the restiveness of youth.
- The biological development of youth has accelerated but does not appear to have had much effect on schools' expectations of them, or on their psychological maturity.
- The youth culture now seems to have these characteristics:
  - inward-lookingness
  - close "psychic attachment" of youth to peer group
  - "press toward autonomy" which leads to challenging of adults
  - frequent concern for the underdog

The Panel recommends, on the basis of research and discussion:

- More specialized schools and free choice in pursuit of appropriate alternatives to the comprehensive school.
- Smaller schools to encourage age integration and improved interpersonal relations.
- Introduction of roles other than the "student" role within

school. Assignments to tutor younger children, for example, would encourage responsibility and helping relationships.

- School as an agent for placing students in out-of-school learning sites such as museums, libraries, work or public service opportunities.
- Encouragement of work-study programs, and experimentation with half-day school/work patterns.
- Encouragement of work organizations that incorporate youth and provide structured learning experiences for youth at the work place.
- Establishment of youth communities or organizations which are largely self-governed and provide services for the community.
- Review of federal and state occupational regulations and a dual-minimum wage to provide incentives for hiring inexperienced workers.
- Introduction on a pilot basis of broadly usable vouchers from age 16 equivalent in value to the average cost of four years of college, to encourage youth to make their own educational decisions and enable more in/out schooling.
- Expansion of federally funded public service programs to promote public service and contact with adults for youth 14-24.
- Research on existing institutions and on programs proposed by the Panel to determine effectiveness as youth environments.

It cannot be emphasized too much that Coleman's intention in *Youth* is to raise questions and initiate debate. The Panel makes recommendations in the hope they will clarify or particularize the larger issues raised by the study and in need of public discussion. For it does believe "it is time to reappraise the contexts of youth, to question even the most accepted and ordinary aspects of their current institutional settings, and to consider the reformation of existing structures and if necessary the creation of new ones."[5]

The Reform of Secondary Education, A Report to the Public and the Profession, by the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, sponsored by

the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, chaired by B. Frank Brown (McGraw Hill, 1973), hereafter, Brown.

Coleman's focus is primarily on youth, and secondarily on schools; Brown's emphasis, indeed the committee's charge, is clear from tne title of the report. The Commission was established to "make a comprehensive examination of secondary education and provide the American public with a clear, factual picture of their secondary schools, indicating where and how they can be altered to better serve the nation's young people."[6] In a sense, its report outlines the ways schools can accommodate to the observations of Coleman, as well as to additional observations about schools made by the Reform Commission itself.

The Brown report is comprehensive, perhaps too much so, for it makes very specific recommendations on a wide variety of subjects and issues in too cursory a fashion at times. The report is organized so that each of 32 recommendatiions is followed by the rationalization for it, and this presentation is in strong contrast to Coleman and its slow accretion of a case for reform. It should be noted, however, that the case for reform in Brown has a broader base of support to begin with, for it was built on monthly hearings throughout the United States and tested on national panels of teachers, parents, students and administrators.

Brown's view of the state of secondary schools is a sobering one and must be understood to appreciate many of the Reform Commission's recommendations. Brown finds:

- in roughly ten years, the costs of operating high schools has doubled.
- student populations are coming from more diverse or "inconsistent social" backgrounds.
- schools are becoming "the victim of an economy of declining populations," having been the country's fastest growing enterprise.
- we have moved in quickly from teacher shortage to teacher surplus, and the result will be an older teacher force.
- a "decade of change and innovation in the schools had little or no lasting effect on the content of school programs or the quality of teaching and learning."[7]
- absence, tardiness, and class-cutting are rampant; crime is

increasing in the schools, and high schools are "beleaguered institutions" with some urban systems "on the verge of collapse."

- the pressures of marked social change and resultant sudden and traumatic changes in mission exhaust "the strength of the high school as an organized institution."
- the "deschooling" of society cannot be taken very seriously: the high school is still the key educational institution.

The thirty-two recommendations of the committee vary considerably in magnitude, and I will summarize only those which add to Coleman's recommendations in a significant way.

- Schools and communities in partnership should develop new statements of goals and work together to achieve them.
- High schools should not be "required to perform purely custodial functions."
- Performance-based instruction which necessitates specific detailing of objectives should be the basis of curricular revision.
- Career education should be expanded with community help, with actual job experience and expanded job placement part of the 11th and 12th grade program.
- All secondary students should receive a basic global education which stresses the globe as a human environment requiring interdependency.
- Alternative paths to a diploma should be available and fully supported, with students assuming responsibility for formulation of educational goals, developing their own learning activities and appraising their progress.
- Scheduling and accrediting of learning must be made more flexible.
- Secondary schools should establish extensive credit programs for accomplishment or work outside the school.
- Research should determine the influence of television on students' lives, values, and learning, and television should be exploited as an educational medium.
- High schools should stop calculating student rank in class.
- Every school should develop a code of student rights and

responsibilities, and schools must grant and respect rights of youth.

– Compulsory attendance should be eliminated and the formal school leaving age should be dropped to fourteen. Only eight years of schooling should be compulsory, although every citizen should be entitled to fourteen years of tuition free education, available when he chooses.

Of the recommendations, the call for community involvement in the formation and implementation of goals; for alternative paths to a diploma and greater student role in personal program design; and for revisions in compulsory attendance are the most radical departures from current practice, as these recommendations are elaborated on in the report.

The Education of Adolescents, the Final Report and Recommendations of the National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education, appointed by Assistant Secretary of Education Sidney Marland and chaired by John Henry Martin (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, HEW Publication (OE) 76-00004, 1976), hereafter, Martin.

As the title of this report suggests, the panel focuses on both youth and schools, though youth from 14-18, not 14-24 as in Coleman. The panel takes a broad view, moves easily between the nature and needs of youths and schools, and develops a smaller number of issues in individual chapters more thoroughly than Brown. It takes a very sympathetic view of the high school, seeing its shortcomings as inherent in the many demands made of it. It proposes a narrower role than at present for the high school in the future, and a greater role for the community in the education of youth.

Two other observations seem relevant, and may reflect the panel's charge to advise the Office of Education on the role the federal government should play in assisting or promoting change. The panel is very sensitive to the organization and management of the school, and sees organizational and management problems, caused largely by factors outside the school, as the source of the schools' present condition. Second, if Coleman focuses on youth, and Brown on schools, one comes away from Martin with an awareness of the community as an educational resource, though

the interrelationship of youth, school and community becomes the subject of each of the three reports.

Martin's panel discovered that:

- in the pursuit of universal education we have concentrated on administrative and managerial problems.
- in our desire for diversity of offerings, our responsibility for all-day supervision, and our concern for class integration we have centralized high school education into ever larger plants.
- organizational assumptions, particularly the idea of the comprehensive high school and its necessarily large size, are responsible for many of the problems identified, e.g., age segregation, resistance to change, student alienation; the priorities of management have precluded adjustment to changing student characteristics or societal conditions, and even make human consideration of individuals difficult.
- we have innocently believed that the high school "could serve as a major if not sole instrument with which to cure our social ills" and this faith in the school as "cultural carrier and therapy agent" has weakened the intellectual function of the school. Schools are overburdened because we fail to plan "multiple programs of education through other agencies and media."
- the custodial responsibilities are a great burden to schools and vital to their effectiveness.
- in keeping the schools free from political influence we have reinforced the isolation of the schools from all other educational enterprises.
- concentrating education in the high school has isolated adolescents from younger children and adults.
- despite the evidence of earlier maturation of adolescents, schools as an institutional imperative tend to prolong dependency.
- responsibilities for broadening educational opportunities should not be imposed on the high school, but shared with other community institutions working in a coordinated relationship with the school. Reform thus far has been intramural, rather than community based, and therefore lacking in public support or commitment.

– the skills of systems analysts and designers should be used in a responsible way to bring a holistic view to the change process and to improve the nature and quality of research and organizational practice.

The Martin panel recommends:

– we replace the concept of the comprehensive high school with that of comprehensive *education* which can be provided through a variety of means and in a variety of institutions.

– we create educational programs and institutions *in the community* in the arts, vocational education and local government (laboratories for citizenship) in which adolescents and adults will jointly participate.

– *ad hoc* specialized schools should be created and staffed by professionals in the community.

– compulsory daily attendance in schools be reduced to 2-4 hours a day, and complementary education activities in the community with adults be made available.

– that "the basic role of the high school as society's only universal institution for the education of the intellect be re-emphasized" and that basic competencies – including media literacy – be taught.[8]

– the creation of a "Community Guidance Center" independent of the school to coordinate the educational activities of schools and other agencies, and to arrange, schedule, evaluate and monitor services as well as record and communicate information about a student's program.

– the preceding recommendations are offered as working hypotheses "to be rigorously tested through small scale adoptions, careful monitoring and ruthless evaluation."[9]

– we facilitate the earlier and increased entry of youth into the work force.

– we undertake "'critical research' . . . into the social and cultural roles and educational effects of the mass media."[10]

– we change accrediting procedures to accommodate experience and training outside the school and classroom.

– citizen and adolescent participation in planning and reviewing programs is essential.

– that the OE and NIE sponsor research on the change process, especially on programs which are peer centered and democratic, and programs which will assist schools in planning.

American Youth in the Mid-Seventies (Washington, National Association of Secondary School Principals, November 30-December 1, 1972), is the report of a conference sponsored by the National Committee on Secondary Education of NASSP and financially supported by the Stone Foundation, the U.S. Office of Education, the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, the White House, and ACTION.

As Coleman was making the case that schools isolated youth from opportunities and experiences needed for adulthood, this conference was proposing that action-learning was one possible solution to this isolation. Action-learning was defined as follows:

> Action-learning is learning from experience and associated study that can be assessed and accredited by an educational institution. It may be in paid jobs, in non-paid volunteer work, or in personal performance, as in publishing, art, drama or music in which participant learning is an objective. Action-learning has an element of novelty; it is not menial or repetitive. It is not classroom work; it takes place in the company of other performers. Part-time action-learning programs will usually complement formal study in school or college. Full-time assignments may involve guided study on the job.[11]

The papers given at the conference were in four categories: (1) the need for action-learning programs; (2) institutional views on action-learning, including unions, state educational agencies, and public agencies; (3) action-learning research and evaluation; and (4) action-learning project examples.

Many of the observations on youth in schools and youth in the work force duplicate those of the commissions described above, but a few are of special interest.

– a survey of three dissimilar American cities reveals enough workplace openings for teenagers on a part-time basis.

– labor is more amenable to the idea than is commonly thought, except in times and places of unemployment.

- there is not yet much empirical evidence that action learning produces significant affective growth in teenagers.
- there is little evidence that action-learning produces an increased sense of civic responsibility.

Specific recommendations to the National Committee on Secondary Education of the NASSP all dealt with ways of publicizing and forwarding the action-learning concept. Of more relevance for our purposes might be the following conclusions of four working seminars of the conference:

- "action-learning is useful and desirable and should be integrated into the total educational program of a community.
- "the criterion for validating action-learning projects should remain flexible to foster a variety of programs.
- "action-learning should receive graduation credit – both in high school and college and should have the same status as academic learning.
- "individual schools should assume primary responsibility for formulating goals, objectives and design of programs.
- "evaluation methods should be worked out by school and the out-of-school supervisor.
- "action-learning must involve authentic experience: it cannot be make believe or redundant.
- "action-learning programs require careful planning.
- "in considering action-learning for a student, school, student and parent should carefully assess goals.
- "possible legal problems, such as child labor laws, accident liability and insurance, and workman's compensation need to be explored.
- "more research and evaluation must take place, both in terms of the process taking place and the outcomes in the lives of the students."[12]

The Greening of the High School, A report on a conference, sponsored by the Education Facilities Laboratories and /I/D/E/A/, prepared by Ruth Weinstock (Educational Facilities Laboratories, and the Institute for Development of Educational Activity, Inc., 1972).

The report of this conference gives good examples of action-learning programs in high schools, because the conference was called to present non-conforming models of programs and settings, and to discuss alternatives and options. The report is a discursive one, often iconoclastic and irreverant in tone, but important because the model programs described are appealing and show that significant alternatives are possible and do exist. The report includes in an appendix a persuasive keynote address by Harold Howe entitled, "How you gonna keep'em down at the school after they've seen TV?"

At the conference there was general agreement on:

- the need to "dejuvenilize" the school by granting youth more responsibility.
- the need for those with knowledge and experience of new programs and young people to make their knowledge known and operable.
- the need to honor the individuality of every young person.
- the need to reorganize and integrate the vast amount of education that goes on outside the school.

There was disagreement on:

- whether disadvantaged youth are not better served by traditional programs.
- the socializing and learning from peers that might be lost as more out-of-school learning took place.

The center portion of the report describes eight educational programs that take youth out of the school, bring the community into the school, or modify the schedule or organizational arrangement significantly.

* * * * *

To provide a context within which the heads could begin their work, I prepared a charge to the group which functioned as a working summary. Since it influenced the responses of the panel of heads, and could be used by any group wishing to struggle with the issues raised by the reports, I include it here.

CHARGE TO THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL COMMENTARY PANEL

"Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?"

"That depends a good deal on where you want to get to," said the cat.

"I don't much care where," said Alice.

"Then it doesn't matter which way you go," said the cat.

". . . so long as I get somewhere," Alice ended as an explanation.

In reading the reports of numerous commissions and conferences, and in preparing this introduction for the commentary panel, I have felt alternately like Alice and the Cat, often within the same thought or sentence. Until we have some clear sense of the purposes of secondary education, all discussion of what we should be doing and how will be unsatisfactory and frustrating. Yet the issue of the purpose of secondary education is in fact the grinning Cheshire cat that continually fades before us. As we begin our pursuit of the dissolving smile, let me put our work into context, suggest where we – the commentary panel – might want to get to, and propose a path we follow.

Our task is to join the current national debate about the reform of secondary education, and to frame a report that will further that debate and assist independent schools in planning for the future. Initially, the staff of the Commission on Educational Issues assumed it would be fairly easy to identify a number of discrete issues in these national reports and respond to them from our independent school experience and vantage. What we discovered was that most of the discussion in the national reports – whatever the issue – doubled back to three assumptions:

- the goal of secondary education is to facilitate the transition to adulthood.
- the isolation of the school from the ongoing work and activity of the larger community is the major obstacle to that transition.

– school must pay more attention to the non-intellective ways of maturing.

In another sense, then, our task is to explore and test these assumptions against some of our own, and to clarify both sets in the process.

Secondary education as preparation for adulthood

To speak of secondary education as preparation for adulthood is language not used in most schools, I suspect, though the phrase certainly describes some familiar objectives of education. Some would argue that honesty compels us to say we prepare students for college, not adulthood, and I hope we explore that difference. Others use the phrase "educating the whole person" to convey our sense of the full range of competencies necessary for successful adult life, though here again if we are precise, we might concede that our focus is on the whole person as adolescent – on education for successful growth here and now – rather than as preparation for a successful future.

John Hickey has observed in the National Catholic Education Association response to the reform reports that the goal – adulthood – is never really defined in the reports, and such a definition is a contribution we might make.[13] But some of the requirements of adulthood are implicit in these reports, and I propose we consider carefully the educational goals stressed by the reports in order to adequately prepare students for adulthood.

– *Autonomy* is seen as a necessary condition for adulthood, but the reform reports suggest that high schools at present encourage dependency and are generally authoritarian. Do independent schools see autonomy as an educational goal, and do we in fact foster autonomy and independence? If so, how?

– *"Other-centeredness,"* or a concern for others, is seen as a requirement of adulthood, yet the reformers note that schools foster self-centered behavior, concern for personal achievement and advancement, and individualism. How are our activities directed toward this requirement of adulthood?

– *Productivity* is a requirement of adulthood, and the reports suggest that there needs to be more practical application of ideas and less abstract and theoretical learning. What is the

nature of the productivity that we foster, and how does it go beyond the doing of assignments?

Isolation of the schools

Can autonomy, other-centeredness and productivity be better learned outside the school? The reform commissions believe so, and see the isolation of secondary schools as a major obstacle to maturity. Yet traditionally, the isolation of the school has been seen as a virtue by independent schools (especially boarding schools), or at least as fostering a creative tension. I believe we have assumed that in small, controlled, self-contained environments learning can be intensified; that the ivory tower is a place from which a critical evaluation of society and experience can take place; that this critical evaluation (thinking) is the goal of education; and that our campus communities are microcosms of society which do in fact encourage the development of independence, caring and creative activity. To overstate a point which is in need of defense, a strong case can be made that the best training for adulthood begins at home – or second best, in a small supportive community. Or to use Dewey's approach, school is not a preparation for life, it is life itself, and the major problems of social life in the "real world" are also present in the classroom.

I believe we must now review these assumptions and ask whether we are isolated from the larger community, and whether our isolation has encouraged student growth and maturity. I propose we phrase the question in two ways, the second being Coleman's:

- In what ways is the isolation of schools both desirable and undesirable, for learning as we presently define it or as we believe it should be? "How much continuity with one set of personal relationships in a single institution [or one intellectual community] should a student have before leaving it and moving to another?"[14]

Non-intellective ways of maturing

Schools have traditionally been concerned with intellectual training, and independent schools more than most. Although we do talk of educating the whole person, in practice we often emphasize the life of the mind and are more confident about the academic training we provide. Many of our colleagues, and some of

us, would find the assumptions of the reform commissions incredible: is not a trained mind the best preparation for adulthood? and is not the purpose of the secondary school to train the mind? Is it? If this purpose is no longer sufficient, what statement can we make of our broader concern that will not severely undercut this traditional purpose of independent education? I propose we approach this issue through these questions:

- To what degree are we concerned with training the mind? What should be the balance of formal and informal (non-academic) education be? Can this distinction be broken down so that the classroom learning has more connection with experience, and experiential learning is given some shape through discussion and reflection?

Finally, I want to emphasize that the emphasis in the national reports is education, not schooling. The concern is for learning that is necessary for adulthood, and a hypothesis in all of the reports is that many of the competencies which students must have for successful adulthood need not be provided by the school. The distinction between education and the school is profound, I think, and forces us to be more precise about the purposes of the school. Even if we grant that autonomy, other-centeredness and productivity are important, we have not addressed the school's responsibility for these competencies, which may be minimal and indirect. Granted that experiential learning and community service are desirable for youth: should they be the business of the school?

The final issue then appears to be relatively simple:

- How encompassing should the school be?[15] Should our aims be the broad ones we now pursue, or the broader ones we should be pursuing according to the reports, or should we set narrower goals for ourselves and concentrate on more effectively carrying them out?

But it brings us back to the beginning, to the hard question of purpose and mission, and behind it sits that ever-grinning cat.

To reiterate then, let us begin our commentary by questioning the following assumptions:

- The goal of secondary education is to facilitate the transition to adulthood.
- The isolation of the school from the ongoing work and activ-

ity of the larger community is the major obstacle to that transition.

- Schools must pay more attention to non-intellective ways of maturing.

And then let us attempt to answer the following questions:

- *Autonomy* is seen as a necessary condition for adulthood, but the reform reports suggest that high schools at present encourage dependency and are generally authoritarian. Do independent schools see autonomy as an education goal, and do we in fact foster autonomy and independence? If so, how?
- *"Other-centeredness,"* or a concern for others, is seen as a requirement of adulthood, yet the reformers note that schools foster self-centered behavior, concern for personal achievement and advancement and individualism. How are our activities directed toward this requirement to adulthood?
- *Productivity* is a requirement of adulthood, and the reports suggest that there needs to be more practical application of ideas and less abstract and theoretical learning. What is the nature of the productivity that we foster, and how does it go beyond the doing of assignments?
- In what ways is the *isolation* of schools both desirable and undesirable to learning as we presently define it or as we believe it should be? How much continuity with one set of personal relationships [or one intellectual community] in a single institution should a student have before leaving it and moving to another?
- To what degree are we concerned with training the mind? What should be the *balance of formal study and informal (non-academic) education?* Can this distinction be broken down so that the classroom learning has more connection with experience, and experiential learning is given some shape through discussion and reflection?
- *How encompassing should the school be?* Should our aims be the broad ones we now pursue, or the broader ones we should be pursuing according to the reports, or should we set narrower goals for ourselves and concentrate on more effectively carrying them out?

Footnotes

[1]William Van Til, "One Way of Looking at It," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 56:7 (March, 1975), p. 493.

[2]A. Harry Passow, *Secondary Education Reform: Retrospect and Prospect* (New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1976), p. 54. This booklet provides a thorough and readable history of American educational reform. Lawrence A. Cremen in *Public Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1976) comments in a most insightful way on the present reform movement (pp. 61-69) and the reform movements of the 1960's (pp. 9-19).

[3]Van Til, p. 493.

[4]My summaries are little more than abstracts and collations of the many summaries of the reports, especially those of John Esty, "The Emerging Reform Movements in Secondary Education," a conference working paper, Educational Development Corporation, May 22-23, 1974; and Gordon Cawelti, *Vitalizing the High School*, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1974.

[5]James S. Coleman, et al., *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 3.

[6]B. Frank Brown, et al., *The Reform of Secondary Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), xiv.

[7]Brown, et al., pp. 7-8.

[8]Martin, et al., p. 13.

[9]Martin, et al., p. 15.

[10]Martin, et al., p. 106.

[11]*American Youth in the Mid-Seventies*, a conference report of the National Committe on Secondary Education of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, November 30-December 1, 1972, Washington, D.C., NASSP publication, p.vi.

[12]The wording of these conclusions is that of the report.

[13]Brother Victor Hickey, F.S.C., "An Independent Secondary Educator's Reaction to *This We Believe: Secondary Schools in a Changing Society*," in *Catholic Secondary Schools and the Educational Reform Movement in American Secondary Education*, Secondary School Department, National Catholic Education Association, March, 1976.

[14]Coleman, et al., p. 139-40, bracket added.

[15]Coleman too asks this question: Coleman, et al., p. 140.

The Isolation of the School

The reformers consider the isolation of the secondary school from the work and activity of the larger community as the most serious obstacle to a gradual transition to adulthood for American youth. They note that isolation has deprived students of much interaction with adults other than teachers, has limited their awareness of and participation in the world of work, and prolonged the realization of their responsibilities as citizens. Isolation has meant that their education has taken place in largely age-segregated communities in which the adolescent's role has been limited to that of student.

Dan Ayrault, Jr., in the paper that follows, analyzes the reports and challenges the contention that adolescents are isolated and that isolation is necessarily undesirable. Fran O'Connor demurs, and in her comment addresses the practical problems that face schools as they begin to implement ideas in the reports.

"The first objective should be to design a school, to arrange and schedule its activities so that it least hinders young people, on their own initiative, from naturally capitalizing upon the work and service opportunities around them. Schools should supplement and assist the utilization of off-campus experiences, letting as much as possible happen naturally, rather than attempt to control or design comprehensively."

THE ISOLATION OF THE SCHOOL AND THE INTEGRATION OF OFF-CAMPUS LEARNING INTO THE SCHOOL PROGRAM

by A. D. Ayrault, Jr.

Recent studies of secondary education assert that prolonged years of schooling inhibit a young person's optimum transition to adulthood because schooling separates the youth from the responsibility and adult associations connected with employment, and postpones his integration into adult activities in the community. The reports propose that we modify schools and develop work or service programs to reduce this age and experience isolation. This paper begins by examining the reasons offered for the proposed modifications and programs, considers some of the implications of the proposals, and concludes by reviewing appropriate independent school responses to the issue of isolation.

School Enrollment and Association with Adults

Much of the persuasive energy behind the reform reports comes from data showing the dramatic increase during the past century in the proportion of students over age 14 enrolled in school, and the consequent decrease in the proportion of youth available to join the adult labor force. This change has been especially rapid during the last few decades. Appealing primarily to common sense, the reports recommend new structures and relationships to replace the maturing work experience which is today necessarily postponed.

The case for reform based on this rationale would be stronger if there were evidence that earlier work experience with adults in the early 1900's provided a more effective maturation process, that better adults were produced. Instead of such evidence the reports imply a common sense assertion: given the dramatic increase in adolescent school retention, compensating adjustments are surely in order. But the reasoning and assumptions of the reformers invite scrutiny.

One assumption is that today's extended school enrollment has denied youth the opportunity to work with adults. While *full-time* employment throughout the year is precluded by school enrollment, Michael Timpane, in a study of the reports done by the Rand Corporation for HEW, observes that 75% of young people today hold jobs at some time during high school.[1] Anthony Pascal, in the same study, notes that "in the face of a host of reasons why young persons should *not* be in the labor force, a larger fraction than ever of those in school have jobs, while those not in school are almost as likely as ever to be working."[2] The unemployment rate is higher for youth than for adults, it is true, and the unemployment fluctuations are more pronounced, but they are synchronized with the general labor market, rather than with trends in social or educational policies or practices. If there is any long-term *trend*, it is toward greater participation of young people in the labor force, at least on a part-time basis.[3]

Another implicit assumption is that less formal schooling produced more mature adults. It would be interesting to study the effectiveness of transition to adulthood during the earlier part of this century. If we accept the report inferences, we should find that those youth who left school early and joined adults in work matured more effectively than those who remained in school or college with their own age group for four to eight more years. Of the latter group, a relatively high proportion would have been enrolled in independent schools, and would then have continued into college and moved eventually into professions or business.

Examining maturation rather than vocational attainment, we should see in this latter group a less effective transition to adulthood. It is difficult to separate impressions of maturity from vocational achievement; ability, affluence, and parental influence were major determinants in vocational opportunity and achievement then as now. But there were many able middle or upper-class youth who did not remain long in school, and who entered the adult labor force at an early age during the first decades of the

1900's. It is not intuitively apparent, nor does it correspond to common sense when viewed this way, that maturation, the transition to adulthood for this group was more effective than for the smaller group who remained in school relatively separated from the labor force. Even if the *rate* of maturation for this extended school-college contingent in the first half of the century could be shown to have been retarded by their age isolation, a proposition the reports do not examine, any reduced effectiveness of the eventual transition to adulthood would remain to be demonstrated.

Vocation

A different argument to support recommendations for increased off-campus work or service experience is the contention that such experience allows young people to sample vocational possibilities and to learn work skills. Task Force '74, one of the many groups studying secondary education, affirms that it

> . . . views work/study programs as a way to teach the inseparable relationship of education and work. Therefore, it is recommended that all types of work/study programs in schools be expanded to give all high-school-age students the opportunity to develop marketable skills prior to graduation.[4]

The initial assertion seems questionable. Is all education related to work? Surely not, except in the remotest sense, e.g., the enjoyment of the arts could be viewed as promoting the relaxation necessary for optimum work productivity. The Task Force '74 recommendation reveals an excessive preoccupation with vocation, with the development of effective workers, suffusing most of the reports. Anthony Pascal in the HEW/Rand study asks, ". . . do we want . . . a society in which academic and cultural pursuits, training for citizenship, and self-development are downplayed in favor of producing more committed workers?"[5]

As for teaching marketable skills, according to Richard A. Graham, Director of Education Programs, ACTION:

> Other findings suggest that coping and functional skills that qualify a person for on-the-job training may be as important to later success as learning specific job skills in school. According to these studies, fifty percent of job openings require no specific job skill training, only

> trainability as evidenced by academic credentials, standardized tests, or a job interview. Further, less than one in three students who gets specialized skill training in school supervised programs takes a job in the area for which they were trained. As a rule, sixty to seventy percent of the skills needed to perform in a job are learned on the job, and, over the five-year period after high school, only one person in five plans to follow the occupation they cited when in school. What's more, there is no particular tendency to move to a closely related career.[6]

Certainly the range of vocations and specialties is increasing, and the rate of change *within* occupations resulting from increased technology and specialization adds to the likelihood that the nature of work pursued by a young person after college or graduate studies will be substantially different from work or apprentice experience secured during school. Even for the few students fortunate to obtain work closely related to future vocation, the general nature of most professional or executive jobs (the vocational norm for independent school students) is difficult to sample directly, or to experience through observation since a high proportion of the "work" consists of the invisible process of analysis and judgment, drawing on past training and experience. Although not essential, some exposure to a given professional vocation is undoubtedly helpful when considering it as a career, but not because a job skill is being learned.

Even a highly developed high school program for off-campus career sampling cannot hope to offer the breadth of vocational possibility open to a student at whatever stage he enters the job market. Geographical immobility alone restricts high school students, and some communities are particularly limited in the range of occupations they contain, while after-school or post-college possibilities are, of course, dramatically expanded and different.

And behind career sampling and counseling recommendations may lie a subtle but troublesome misconception, i.e., that they are designed to discover the vocation which just matches a student's interests and capabilities. Interests change, or can be changed, and capabilities can be developed. Rather than understanding that most decisions of this sort, i.e., which job? which mate? which college?, are largely arbitrary, and require primarily a sustained

commitment to make the decision work, many young people today are misled into searching for pre-ordained matches.[7] The danger is that they will not understand what is really necessary to obtain satisfaction and fulfillment, and will become abruptly disenchanted if the vibrations are not just right. Finally, experience to date suggests that high school work or service programs do not represent an efficient method to teach specific work skills.[8] For independent school educators, then, the primary rationale for a work or service program should not rest with career sampling or the acquisition of work skills.

Self-development and Self-knowledge

Many advocates of work or service programs for youth believe that extensive and extended schooling, because it is predominantly abstract in nature, leads to an unhealthy separation of mind and body, to a withering of the capacity to act and to learn from concrete experience. While the Progressive theme of "learning by doing" has sound basis in learning theory, there is often a romantic emphasis beyond this, a belief that academic learning over-emphasizes the rational, the logical, the controlled and mechanical dimensions of being, separating a person from valuable human instincts and emotions, spontaneity, and intuition. Thus many advocates of learning through concrete experience seek subtle but fundamental benefits for the developing of a person's psyche and non-intellectual capabilities. Or perhaps more accurately, *à la* Rousseau they wish to avoid warping the developing person through excessive intellectualization.

The optimum proportion of concrete experience compared to intellectual activity for students is not clear, and undoubtedly varies according to student background as well as student aspiration. The question of degree, of correct balance, is important but elusive. The Australian aborigine is a nearly pure example of apprentice learning through concrete experience. The process develops certain survival skills and capacities extraordinarily, and does include a close and specific teaching link between adults and adolescents. But the experience is also severely limiting, even imprisoning, lacking in its very specificity that abstraction and generalization which allows humans to move past boundaries and pre-conceptions to seek new solutions. In our rush to move students off campus and into the exciting arenas of "the real world," it is worth noting that the library continues to be the most power-

ful source and symbol of human liberation, both in spirit and in practice.

Other advocates of work and service programs emphasize the self-knowledge to be gained by such experiences, seeing this self-knowledge, especially in relation to others, as essential for the process of identity formation.

> Involvement of adolescents in various communtiy activities . . . can place youth in meaningful contact with people of a much wider range of ages, interests, backgrounds, and professions than can be found in the high school. Such interactions outside the paternalistic child-adult relationships in the schools can lead to the development and/or refinement of skills in human relations, as well as to a clearer perception of one's place in and relationship to society as a whole.[9]

To gain "a clearer perception of one's place in and relationship to society as a whole" while in secondary school *sounds* worthwhile, but consider: one's "relationship to society" changes constantly with age and status (e.g., high school graduate) and function. A student's "relationship to society" will dramatically alter for any student a few years out of high school, especially for students continuing through college or graduate school.

Academic schooling *is* a form of work, and makes many of the same educational demands inherent in the best, the most stimulating of jobs (of which, alas, there are few): it can be deeply challenging and testing, it requires discipline, responsibility, punctuality, productivity, skill in human relations, submission to deadlines and external requirements, and even includes the difficulties and frustrations of having to satisfy the employer or customer (read teacher). There is much in the way of self-knowledge, of learning to understand one's capabilities and limits, gained from the variety of experiences associated with school: academics, performing or visual arts, athletics, social interactions. Few jobs can be as challenging, or as broadening, as school – at least as schools *should* be – especially for students of moderate to high ability.

The Quality of Experience

No one denies that it is better for the young to be in stimulating jobs than enrolled in bad schools. Schools can be dull, stultifying,

patronizing, de-personalized. They can demand excessive conformity and present an oppressively bureaucratic hierarchy of authority. They can rob a student of dignity and waste his time. They can demand busy work and promote dependency.

But many jobs present similar drawbacks, especially for the most junior in their ranks. Robert Dreeben notes that Coleman's panel "consistently and tacitly compares the worst of schools with the best of the proposed alternatives."[10] The most resourceful youth, of course, will secure stimulating, meaningful, responsible jobs or service opportunities. Ironically, they may need less than other students the maturing increment offered by the better jobs. For large public school systems especially, to ensure that any comprehensively implemented work or service programs offer every student the desired quality of stimulating, responsible experience, and do not tolerate situations where youth are ignored, exploited, patronized, or shunted to the most menial and least responsible tasks, would require a substantial inspection system, with attendant problems of personnel organization and cost. In effect, a major certification or licensing mechanism would become necessary to determine "approved" experiences, especially if schools are expected to certify formal "credit" for off-campus experience, or if wages are to be subsidized by tax revenues, as proposed in some of the reports. The likely growth of new certification requirements is not attractive for a society already burdened heavily by licensing and credentialism.

Independence and Autonomy

The reports assume that school, especially when extended over more years, prolongs dependence and therefore retards maturation. Greater independence, more experience with self-responsibility is recommended so that youth can gradually emerge as autonomous adults. Throughout many of the reports it is implied that to promote independence in the young we should withdraw them from paternalistic schools and peer group isolation and transfer them to work or service associations with adults who by definition are independent and autonomous. But adults in a work or service situation are no less likely than teachers or parents to restrict, subordinate or "protect" young workers or volunteers, especially in circumstances where employers or supervisors risk losing cusomers or exposure to liability suits. The inhibiting threat of increased in-

surance premiums would eliminate many of the most challenging jobs, and the more "formalized" and comprehensive the work program, the more likely the insurance entanglements. Older workers may feel threatened and unions sensitive to seniority provisions as well as to job displacement, especially if students are given "meaningful" and responsible jobs, as the reports insist, while adults are left to perform more menial tasks.

Certainly earning a wage can promote an important sense of self-sufficiency in a student, but adult authority is generally prominent in the experience. Susan Berryman Bobrow, in the HEW/Rand study, suggests that peer associations, most abundant in school, provide an important context supporting the development of independence:

> . . . consolidating a sense of "autonomous self" is difficult to do within the traditionally dependent and subservient child-parent relationship. Adolescents seem to need to put distance between themselves and adult authority figures in order to negotiate this process satisfactorily. Heavy investments in peer relationships provide one relational "terrain" in which this can be done.[11]

Promoting the effective development of autonomy in the young is a worthwhile objective, but ironically, the goal of increased association with adults, except under carefully designed non-paternalistic circumstance, may conflict with that objective. Reducing age-group isolation in schools and seeking greater integration into the adult community will not by itself promote a more mature independence in the young.

Time

In support of the proposals for increased off-campus activity, some of the reports observe that students are effectively engaged in many schools for only two to four hours at best. Curtailment of school hours would be more efficient for students, they argue, and would release students for worthwhile activities in the community. In the narrowest sense, it is difficult and perhaps undesirable to schedule students with 100% efficiency in school. There is value in time spent in peer socialization, study and discussion. And we need also to consider the efficient utilization of *teacher* time (not always compatible with optimum efficiency of student's time). Where student time is flagrantly wasted in school, we should

correct the problem rather than abandon the school. The school's proper and continuing task is enormous, heavily demanding of student time and energy. The value of off-campus experience should be considered not by default, but in its own right, *despite* the school's capacity to engage usefully the time and energy of its students.

Indeed, in a world where knowledge and technique builds so rapidly, in some areas exponentially, any proposal to reduce school time significantly must carry a heavy burden of proof. It is disconcerting to hear the National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education suggest, without any apparent acknowledgement of loss, that ". . . homework burdens might be lightened."[12] Many schools may find it worthwhile to rearrange their calendars or schedules, but should seek first to find that extra student time needed for off-campus work or service primarily from the young person's substantial block of non-school time, even if that becomes rearranged in configurations different from the tradtional pattern. Most student work or service, of course, already occurs after school or during long vacations. It does appear, however, that schools can expand their capacity to *help* students use non-school time for work or service opportunities.

Isolation

Just how isolated are the young? In general, the reports appear to grant insufficient weight to one modern factor reducing isolation: the incredible range and speed of today's reporting in magazines, newspapers, radio and TV. The young filter out distortions better than many might think. Documentary specialists and actors, many of them, devote great skill and resources to provide realistic, accurate insights into the adult worlds and people they portray. In this sense, earlier youth were far more isolated from the range of adult personalities and possibilities that existed, limited to the relatively small sample of people and experience immediately accessible. It has already been noted that employment, albeit part-time employment, is higher for high school youth than most of the reports imply. Mobility of families, inexpensive travel options, attendance at public entertainment or sporting events, involvement in shopping, baby-sitting, work on cars, all immerse young people in a varied and age-mixed community, even though many of the contacts lack depth.

Many acknowledge that modern youth are more sophisticated,

more cosmopolitan than their predecessors, and none dispute the accelerated physical maturity which has occurred, even though emotional maturity may not have similarly accelerated. Older observers note, some in a critical or begrudging vein, as if the young were somehow posturing, the apparent absence of general maturity in relation to accelerated sophisticated and physical maturity, forgetting that the patterns and relationships which prevailed earlier were no more "correct," normal, or inherently natural. Indeed, the relative acceleration of sophistication and physical maturity may cause emotional maturity to *appear* retarded in today's adolescent, when, instead, it may simply be proceeding at its accustomed pace. Meanwhile, increased sophistication belies isolation.

Adolescence

Emotional maturity, an elusive concept, may be primarily the product of experiencing life outside the controlled, protected environment of school and family – setting aside individual variations, which are marked. Do we wish to accelerate the transition to adulthood? Timpane says "no":

> We do not believe the case for shortening the period of youth or adolescence has been made. We believe that young people require considerable time and room for trial-and-error in their adjustment to our complex and changing society and its economy; we suggest that schools may be a valuable buffer and student peer groups may contribute more constructively to the adjustment process than the reports indicate. The proposed alternative socializer, the workplace, does not automatically recommend itself to us. Much of our society's productive activity contributes little to individual fulfillment . . . and many of the work experiences that might be made available to students are not and are likely to remain similarly unrewarding. More than is recognized, young persons (75 percent of whom hold jobs during high school) may understand all they need to know about such jobs.[13]

Humans develop more power over their environment than other animal species partly because the extended period of development, protection and dependence provides so much opportunity for

learning, for "safe" experimentation. One *advantage* of prolonged adolescence is the contribution it makes to keeping a young person's options open, to ensuring flexibility. In a world of accelerating change this seems especially desirable. There appears to be too much tendency in some of the reports to refer prejoratively to "student status," "dependency" or "adolescence."

Parents

The reports underscore the extent to which parental influence continues to register as the most powerful factor in shaping the emerging adult. The process is not predictable, and often appears to go awry, as witness the early Beatles song, "She's Leaving Home":

> She (We gave her most of our lives)
> is leaving (Sacrificed most of our lives)
> home. (We gave her everything money could buy)
> She's leaving home after living alone
> For so many years. Bye, bye.

In an interesting footnote, Ms. Bobrow recognizes the often stormy breach:

> Adolescents' verbal rejection of parents and their increasing time commitment to peers outside the home may seem inconsistent with the evidence on value and expectation continuity between parents and adolescents. We suggest that what adolescents are attacking is parental authority, not their basic values and expectations. In other words, conflicts are part of the process of "letting go" and "getting free," not of negation.[14]

Coleman cites a study which "included measures of work habits, responsible attitudes, and home chores. Both of the former measures showed regular increases with age, but neither was correlated with work experience in the form of home duties even after years of such training. *Instead, responsibility was associated with responsible attitudes on the part of parents* [emphasis added]."[15]

In view of the powerful effect parental attitudes and expectations have on the young, it is significant to note the observations contained in a survey of parents with children under 13 conducted by Yankelovich in 1977. A "new breed" of parents is observed

who aim more than their predecessors at self-fulfillment. They appear to be striking a new contract with their offspring: parents sacrifice less, but in return they do not expect as much from their children.[16] This reduced psychological contact may hasten some aspects of autonomy development, but could also constitute in the future a more significant and disturbing form of separation or "isolation" than the increased school retention cited in the reports. Will the young learn attitudes of responsibility from this "new breed" of parents?

Independent Schools

What then, are independent schools to make of the issue of "isolation" identified by the reform reports? What should be done and why? To what end?

Every school attempts to help young people understand, enjoy, and gain power over their own lives and the circumstances which surround them, and seeks optimum resources and opportunities to accomplish this objective. A productive balance between concrete and abstract experience is one goal. Like tuning a radio receiver, it takes some hunting to find the right balance. Theory reinforced by experience and practice is better than either alone. The community abounds in educational resources and opportunities. There are significant logistical and time problems to be solved if these are to be utilized, but the effort is worthwhile in order to enrich the balance. The reports provide a challenging stimulus to remind teachers of the valuable experiences foregone when a student enrolls in school. They serve to provoke what should be a constant review and testing of the substance and process of what occurs in school, of the efficient and thoughtful use of a student's limited time. They remind teachers of possiblities to expand, to enrich and to enliven learning by utilizing the community more than we have. So there is good and sufficient, even if relatively undramatic, reason to expand our awareness and utilization of non-classroom learning and experience, and the reports do provide insight and impetus to this end.

But schools should not lose confidence in the value of their academic mission. Man is a creature who thinks and communicates with symbols, and systematic, academic learning helps to reach the possiblities available. Direct experience has its limitations. For one, it is slow. By sampling experience vicariously through books, films, stories, lectures, it is possible to telescope into a young per-

son's years of learning whole lifetimes of experience more varied than any one person's life could possibly encompass. Some isolation is helpful, indeed probably necessary, to promote rigorous thinking and to establish habits and attitudes that support concentrated study, careful analysis and rational judgment. The world, after all, can be a wonderfully diffused and distracting experience.

Every variety of human activity has its unique, limiting features. No experience is somehow more "real" than another. School is one part of the real world. Off-campus experience is valuable not because it provides glimpses of "the real world," but because it enlarges perspective, and generally provides a more active learning experience to balance the substantially passive, abstract learning in school.

Just as a parent's attitude toward responsibility was observed to be (in the study cited above) more influential in the development of responsible work habits than years of training through chores, so a teacher's open attitudes and insatiably curious and probing approach to life and learning will do more to dispell provincialism and isolation than years of off-campus programs. But the two combined, and intelligently designed to provide reinforcement, will be even more influential.

Academic learning, the development of conceptual thinking, requires hard, sustained thought. Teacher and student, the class (when it works together to enhance learning) must be in association long enough to establish the protocols of working together, and to move through the introductory, middle, and concluding stages of a coherent unit of learning. There must be continuity and sustained focus to achieve depth in learning. School should not be a sort of antic, intellectual smorgasbord where students dart in and out at will picking up bits and pieces of credit to accumulate toward a diploma. Trying to accomplish too many things in a school day or week is likely to produce superficial, shoddy results. The energy absorbed just by the logistical complications of dashing here for a class, then across town for an internship, and back again for a music rehearsal, becomes patently foolish.

Schools should seek ways to rearrange the yearly calendar so that there is greater interruptibility than is provided by the September-June continuum. This should be done without fragmenting units of study, or plugging students in and out of classes which demand sequential continuity. Off-campus experiences should be accomplished as much as possible in focused, intensive blocks of full-

time concentration. Obviously, the long "summer" vacation, perhaps occurring at another time in the year, provides ample time for refreshment as well as work or other intensive learning experience. Some off-campus experiences, and the school programs of some students, can be accommodated simultaneously, of course, e.g., a newspaper route or helping to serve dinner in a retirement home. But in general it is well to be cautious about overlap, to seek focus and avoid fragmentation.

The first objective should be to design a school, to arrange and schedule its activities so that it least hinders young people, on their own initiative, from naturally capitalizing upon the work and service opportunities around them. Schools should supplement and assist the utilization of off-campus experiences, letting as much as possible happen naturally, rather than attempt to control or design comprehensively.

Granting "academic" credit for work or service experiences is a quagmire, to be avoided if possible. Some general requirements may be expected for graduation, but they should be flexible. A description of the successfully completed activity can be attached to a transcript, if that seems necessary or desirable, for transfer to another school or college. Off-campus experiences and academic study *are* different. Attempts to equate them, to measure out comparable qualities, is difficult, highly subjective, and generally unnecessary.

It is advisable to start small and gain experience before embarking on major off-campus programs. The reforms suggested by the reports are the sort best accomplished through evolution, rather than revolution. There is much to learn, and there is even more to be lost if schools lose focus on, or forget, priorities concerning their basic academic task. Coleman correctly and importantly emphasizes the need for other-directed experiences for today's youth, but generally the reports are too ardent in their quest, too ready to advance any argument or to ascribe broad benefits of every sort with no offsetting costs, too willing to subordinate or eliminate classroom or abstract learning for earlier and greater experience in the "real" world.

Tutoring, work and service programs *are* valuable for the young even if vocational training, career exploration, self-knowledge, development of autonomy, "learning about the real world," or escape from age isolation may not be significantly advanced, or may not each by themselves represent a compelling rationale for change. That we be clear about our *reasons* for doing something *is*

important, because we otherwise risk abandoning worthwhile programs later if our objectives or expectations have been inappropriate or unrealistic. Schooling, with its emphasis on personal growth, self-development, self-improvement, self-discipline, and growth in individual skills, can lead easily and naturally to student attitudes that are self-centered and self-indulgent. This tendency is reinforced by longer years of schooling, and therefore increases the importance of ensuring that students come to *expect* that they will share in the work to be done, and that this be experienced regularly enough throughout their lives and schooling to shape firmly and deeply a student's basic habits and attitudes. Most importantly, responsible attitudes and actions of teachers and staff (and parents), and the programs and time allocations they design, must signal and reinforce these expectations and values.

Footnotes

[1]Michael Timpane, Susan Abramowitz, Susan Berryman Bobrow, Anthony Pascal, *Youth Policy in Transition* (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1976), p. 138.

[2]Timpane, et al., p. 72.

[3]Timpane, et al., pp. 67-72.

[4]John W. Porter, et al., *The Adolescent, Other Citizens, and Their High Schools* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), p. 77.

[5]Timpane, et al., p. 91.

[6]Richard A. Graham, "Learning From Experience: A Preliminary Report," in *American Youth in the Mid-Seventies*, a conference report of the National Committee on Secondary Education of the National Association of Secondary School Principals (Washington, D.C.: NASSP, November 30-December 1, 1972), p. 80.

[7]See Diane Hedin, et al., *Youths' Views on Work* (University of Minnesota: Center for Youth Development and Research, May, 1977), p. 16.

[8]U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Report of A Special Task Force on *Work in America* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972), quoted in John H. Martin, et al., *The Education of Adolescents* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 116-117.

[9]Martin, et al., p. 49.

[10]Robert Dreeben, "Good Intentions," *School Review*, 83:1 (November 1974), p. 46.

[11]Timpane, et al., pp. 48-49.

[12]Martin, et al., p. 118.

[13]Timpane, et al., p. 138.

[14]Timpane, et al., pp. 48-49.

[15]James S. Coleman, et al., *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 106.

[16]Daniel Yankelovich, et al., *Raising Children in a Changing Society*, a General Mills American Family Report 1976-1977 (General Mills, Inc., 1977), passim.

"We must remember that secondary schools occupy a large portion of the lives of young people at a significant time in their development. Independent schools frequently occupy more of their students' time and energy than do public schools . . . . We must therefore face the same issues and the same adolescent needs as our public school colleagues and ask the same question: are we making the best use of the time that our students, who are developing adults, spend with us?"

COMMENT BY FRANCES R. O'CONNOR

Recent major studies of secondary education in the United States have focused on schools not as imparters of knowledge, skills and culture, but as a primary environment for the maturation and socialization of the nation's teenagers. This shift in perspective is profound, for viewed from this vantage, the typical high school may not be an adequate community for young people. It severely limits contact with the adult worlds of work and play; and while it does provide opportunities for peer relationships of many kinds it decreases opportunities for relationships between teenagers and adults and teenagers and younger children.

My problem with Dan Ayrault's paper on the isolation issue is that he has not shifted his vantage so as to appreciate the new perspective. He clearly sees the school from an academic point of view and criticizes the reports accordingly. His criticism is clearly reasoned and very thorough, and he does conclude where I feel we should begin; namely, by saying that "tutoring, work and service programs *are* valuable for the young."

I favor such programs more than Dan does and believe we should emphasize such programs in our schools. To me, experience has taught us that such programs

- allow students opportunities to practice behaviors appropriate to adults and to know more about the adult world
- encourage students to take responsibility for themselves and others
- develop the self-awareness of students through non-authoritarian relationships with adults

- allow students to experience success or failure outside the classroom
- help students to grow in independence
- can motivate students to become well-prepared and educated adults

For these reasons, I believe such programs should be awarded "credit," should be *an integral part of a student's program*, and time should be made for them within a student's high school program.

We must remember that secondary schools occupy a large portion of the lives of young people at a significant time in their development. Independent schools frequently occupy more of their students' time and energy than do public schools. Country day schools run as late as five or six in the evening, boarding schools structure fully eight months of their students' lives, and almost every independent school runs some afternoon and weekend programs. We must therefore face the same issues and the same adolescent needs as our public school colleagues and ask the same question: are we making the best use of the time that our students, who are developing adults, spend with us?

Rather than argue with Dan's paper, I will comment on off-campus programs as a way of teaching basic skills, and then make some remarks about the practical problems of reducing the isolation of the schools.

Skill Development

The mastery of basic skills is one's "ticket" to maturity – the means of accomplishing effectively the tasks of adulthood. While all the reports evidence concern for the development of basic skills, they point out that many of the skills necessary for a successful life in today's world are not best learned in a school setting. In particular, inter-personal skills are limited by the homogenous age groupings of the classroom, and by the fact that the central task of education is self-improvement. The skills necessary to function politically, to take full advantage of the community in which one lives, and to work with others to accomplish a task are hard to learn through the high school programs that exist today.[1]

There are certain skills, traditionally taught in schools, which cannot be neglected if a young person is to be a fully functioning adult in today's world. The communication skills of writing and

speaking, the ability to analyze, to think logically and to calculate accurately are as necessary now as they have been in the past. These should not be neglected as new frontiers are explored. However, as the reports maintain, these skills can be taught efficiently and still leave some time for the world outside the classroom. And I believe that these skills can often be taught very effectively through off-campus experiences. The perennial search for "relevance" in education might well be served by introducing students into the adult world rather than by abstracting it and trying to bring it into the school world. Students frequently cannot find relevance in their studies because they cannot relate their abstract concepts to concrete situations. Exposure to concrete situations may do much to improve their writing and calculating.

Pragmatic Concerns

No one who takes these reports seriously can escape the realization that very basic changes will have to be made in schools if the proposed changes are to be effected. In fact, it is almost too easy to say that such changes are impossible, and thus to eliminate any real consideration of the proposals. But I believe it will be much easier for independent schools to restructure themselves and include off-campus learning and age integrated programs than for large public schools to do so. Through their parents, independent schools have access to business leaders and professionals who can provide particularly meaningful internships for their students. Thus, not only is it possible for independent schools to embark on such programs, but we could provide leadership in education by doing so. A school which is able to initiate and refine a program which integrates both intellectual and social maturation would provide a service to public and non-public education alike.

I heartily agree with Dan that changes in scheduling patterns and calendar are essential. Schools which have internship programs have discovered that they are most valuable when the student can spend a substantial amount of concentrated time in them.[2] Thus the one-hour a week programs have little value when compared with full-time or even half-time programs of several months duration. To accommodate such programs for all their students, schools would need to provide multiple entry and exit points in the classroom program. Several independent schools have shown leadership in intensive education, which might offer a possible solution to this problem.

Instead of studying five or six subjects in short time blocks for a term or school year, students study one or two at a time for several hours a day, thus completing the course in fewer weeks. Taught this way, there could be a number of times during the year when a student could begin a course such as mathematics, history, or writing. Easy access to intensive basic courses would make it possible for students to be off campus – for a concentrated block of time – without interfering with classroom work in these courses. A student might also be involved in an internship in the mornings and return to classroom study in the afternoon. Schools which have used this type of schedule have found it does not seem to lessen classroom learning, is less costly than traditional scheduling and preferred by many (but not all) students and teachers.[3]

Whatever the adaptations of schedule, it must be recognized that there will be some trade-offs if schools are going to encourage substantial off-campus programs. I hope we have moved in the last ten years from the add-on to a more realistic trade-off mentality. If non-public schools are going to attempt to provide age integration, role diversity and growth of responsibility, we are going to have to drop some of our cherished programs. For some students, work in the outside world might mean that they would not be involved in competitive sports, clubs or student government. These latter are valuable for some, but for specific students less valuable than work or internships. Other students might choose to study less literature or history in favor of working in government or community service. A student interested in science might delay the study of advanced chemistry or physics to gain experience in a hospital, laboratory or research center. Students would need guidance and support to help them design strong programs, and to avoid a watered-down academic curriculum.

Accreditation and college entrance are also pragmatic concerns that must be faced by independent schools as they look at new, individualized programs. While independent schools generally view their mission as one that is broader than mere preparation for college, their students and parents frequently view college acceptance as a major reason for enrolling in the school. This poses a particularly perplexing dilemma. If secondary education becomes increasingly individualized and includes varied non-classroom, experience-based learning situations, college admissions officers will have a difficult time assessing the strength of the program and the student applying for admission. This may force them to rely even more heavily on standard testing.

Very few people feel happy about the prospect of evaluating four years of education by a few hours of objective tests. Yet colleges increasingly cannot rely on the schools' recommendations, as too many teachers and administrators are unwilling to write candid appraisals of their students' abilities and achievements for fear of legal reprisals. Some independent schools with unusual programs spend a fair amount of time acquainting the colleges with their programs, in the hope that they will evaluate the transcripts from their school with more understanding. This may be the only way that schools can deal effectively with the college entrance problem until such time as individualized programs become more common and new evaluative systems are developed. It is obvious, however, that no school can become well-known by all colleges, and no college can be expected to know the range and quality of programs in all high schools. Thus, this solution is a partial one at best.

As attractive and logical as non-classroom programs may sound, I agree with Dan that it should not be assumed that every experience in the adult world will be beneficial to the student. The experience needs to be of educational value in itself, and schools will have to exercise care in developing and selecting these programs for inclusion in their curricula. Not only does the experience need to be potentially growth-producing, but the adults with whom the students are working need to be chosen with some care. The relationships between adults and teenagers that the reports look for will not happen if the adults are threatened, bothered or bored at the thought of student interns. Not every adult is willing or able to educate a teenager.

Nor can the school abdicate its responsibility for the education of the student after it has provided a valuable work experience. It is the role of the school to help the student internalize the experience, develop the personal and professional skills needed for the experience, and to reflect on how he or she fits into that part of the adult world. If a school does not meet its obligations, it seems that the internship will be little more than a part-time job, not unlike the summer jobs of many students. Internships and work opportunities must be structured to become educational experiences.

Dangers and Objections

It would be a mistake to hope that by overcoming the age isolation of teenagers and giving them a chance to sample the adult

world, all the problems of schools and teenagers will be solved. Schools are often expected to solve all of society's problems, but that is an unrealistic hope.[4] They can, however, continually evaluate and improve their programs and prepare students for a productive life in the adult world.

One danger to be avoided is a token entry into such programs. If students cannot become truly involved in non-classroom programs but are only allowed to dabble in them, rather than increase their awareness of themselves as valuable, contributing young people, they will feel they are not needed and will not take responsibility. It is hard to imagine that such token experiences will produce the results intended by the reports. A token admission to the adult world will only reinforce the isolation of youth from society rather than correct it.

While it will be difficult to evaluate non-classroom learning, an honest attempt has to be made. If these experiences are to be a part of the secondary education of a youngster, then quality control is needed. A student should know why the experience was chosen, what skills and knowledge can be gained by it, what are the expectations for his performance, and how he will be evaluated. This evaluation process will not only serve to weed out weak programs, but can also help the student maximize the learning that is taking place. Thus, the evaluation can be an educational tool in itself.[5]

It should also be recognized that the independent schools are part of the free enterprise system in America. They cannot hope to survive if they inaugurate educational programs that do not receive sufficient support from the public. The parents of independent school students vote immediately and directly with their pocketbooks. This is both an advantage and a disadvantage. It forces independent schools to remain responsive to the desires and expectations of parents and prevents them from becoming out-of-touch with their constituencies. However, it also makes them susceptible to the fears, prejudices and conservatism of those same parents.

For an independent school to succeed with a new program, it is necessary to educate the parents as well as the students. The students themselves may be able to educate their parents if our programs are appropriate ones. For example, students in the ninth and tenth grades should probably be exposed to work and service experiences on a much smaller scale than those in the eleventh and twelfth grades. A mini-term of two or three weeks duration or a

few hours each month spent in community service might suffice. Programs of short duration will allow parents to see the growth that comes with insertion into the adult world, and prepare them to support it on a larger scale in the later grades. It might then be possible to structure a substantial mix of classroom and non-classroom education into the final years of high school without encountering too much resistance from parents.

The reports issue a word of caution about allowing high school students to enter the work field and take jobs from adults when unemployment is already a problem in this country. I do not believe this is a cause for concern for independent schools. The most productive and educational experiences they can provide for students involve non-paid internships in professional fields, government, community service, and business organizations. The inexperience of the students combined with the short length of most internships (four months seems to be the normal outside limit) indicates that they will be learners, not paid employees. The work they do can be without pay, for the experience they receive will amply compensate them. It seems unlikely that their presence will make it possible for an employer to do without a regular paid worker.

Any change requires administrative effort and reorganization. The problems of scheduling and gaining parental support have already been mentioned. Another consideration is the lessening of the custodial functions of the school which will be required if off-campus learning becomes a significant part of the high school program. Independent schools are often expected to be surrogate parents and to watch over every move and attitude of their students. If they are to foster independence and encourage their students to become involved in the adult world, they cannot also monitor every move the students make. Parents and society at large will have to come to understand and accept more student independence.

Administrators should expect resistance from teachers if they incorporate non-classroom study as a significant part of their program. Such programs will probably require fewer traditional teachers and call on more adults with backgrounds and roots outside of education. Given the fact that there are already more teachers than teaching jobs, these new high school programs will be a threat to the teaching community. Teachers will also recognize that their students have less exposure to academics, and will most likely feel this to be detrimental. These two reasons alone

will make it difficult for an administrator to win easy faculty backing for these changes, and will necessitate extensive in-service programs, change strategies, and well thought out phasing-in techniques.

Recommendations

Independent schools pride themselves (rightly or wrongly) on their individuality, the quality of their education and their responsiveness to the needs of their students. Their relative freedom from political control and small size make it possible for them to initiate change and pilot innovative programs. I would hope that several independent schools around the country will respond to the issues raised in the reports by developing programs which lessen the age isolation of their students and provide them with first-hand experience in politics, business and professional life. These programs might differ widely, for schools, like the students they serve, are unique.

Until there are a number of such programs which can be studied and evaluated, there is probably little chance of the major restructuring of secondary education in the United States which the reports ineluctably call for. Many of the proposals are exciting and challenging and are justified by common sense and intuition. But education is an inexact science at best, and is subject to political moods and prejudices. The current "back to basics" concerns will make it hard to win widespread support for the suggested programs. However, to ignore the fact that so many reports come to similar conclusions and not to consider implementing them would be a mistake. They have given a challenge to the educational world. I hope that independent schools will consider their recommendations seriously, and begin to find ways to implement them.

Footnotes

[1]B. Frank Brown, et al., *The Reform of Secondary Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 32-33.

[2]Alan R. Blackmer and Paul Irwin, *Study of Off-Campus Education*, National Association of Independent Schools, January, 1977, p. 28.

[3]Barbara Schieffelin Powell, *Intensive Education: The Impact of Time on Learning*, Education Development Center, Inc., 1976, passim.

[4]Brown, et al., pp. 9-10.

[5]The Commission on Educational Issues, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, the National Catholic Education Association, and the National Association of Independent Schools are currently co-sponsoring a two-year research study on the evaluation of experiential education. The Center for Youth Development and Research of the University of Minnesota will supervise and implement the project.

The "Dejuvenilization" of the School

As cumbersome a word as it is, dejuvenilize has become a catch-phrase for the reformers because it accurately describes a goal. To dejuvenilize is to make education a less juvenile process, or in the words of John Chaffee of the Office of Education, simply to find ways of treating students more like adults. As such, the term encompasses both (1) the recommendations that students be given more responsibility for their education, their use of time, and the governance of the school and its organizations, and (2) the recommendations that adolescents be brought into contact with learners of other ages in learning situations both inside and outside the school.

Earl Harrison explores the full meaning of "dejuvenilization" in his paper that follows and reports on a number of exemplary programs. Chris Berrisford redefines the goal as teaching independence and emphasizes how this can be done within the school as presently constituted.

"If we took our responsibility seriously, we would phase in a flexibly administered service prerequisite for graduation. Students could be allowed to fulfill the requirement through any of a broad range of experiences at any point in their high school career including summer vacation periods. A student failing to meet the school's standard in humanitarian service would not receive its diploma."

THE "DEJUVENILIZATION" OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

by Earl G. Harrison, Jr.

Emphasis upon the needs of youth as maturing persons emerges as the central thrust in the current studies of secondary education in the United States. Two decades ago public school critics insisted on curricular enrichment and the advantages of consolidation. By contrast, today's reformers are deeply concerned with the well-being of rapidly maturing students inside the overgrown comprehensive high school.

Educators in independent schools will welcome this shift in emphasis away from the efficiency of institutional arrangements to the developmental needs of each student. The era in education of equating larger operations with progress is finally ending. The Brown report asks us "to organize away from bigness" and states, "Costs outweigh benefits whenever a school grows to the point of fostering anonymity."[1]

If teachers are going to understand the varying needs and abilities of youth and want to design programs for the growth of the individual student, we must create small educational units which foster stable and intimate faculty-student relationships: environments for learning scaled to meet diagnostic and humanistic goals. Private schools have traditionally resisted the expansion of student populations unless it could be demonstrated that basic student needs would continue to be served.

The reports analyze the conditions youth now face inside and outside the walls of secondary schools. In general, the reformers

find the fractured family, community agencies and the church as impotent as the school in assisting youth toward a salutary transition to adult life within our technologically paced society. Within the school, youth are held back and trapped. The developmental danger of prolonged adolescence, viewed as crippling dependency by the reformers, should be of special interest to teachers in independent schools who work principally with college-bound youth. When the individual is programmed for a minimum of sixteen years of traditional, academically oriented schooling, educators must ask hard questions to determine whether adequate opportunities exist to meet the emotional, experiential and spiritual needs evolving during those years. And the evidence we do have, coming from QUESTA assessments of independent education devised by ETS, indicates that students feel the good academic education they have received is "at the expense of development in other areas, notably in relating to the opposite sex and in getting a sense of self."[2]

This paper briefly reviews the reform statements on the nature of youth and the suggestion that schools should be "dejuvenilized" to correct undesirable school conditions. It will also consider specific recommendations, including work and service motifs, as program possibilities within the independent schools.

The Mature Client

Consistently the reform message spotlights the adolescent's readiness to learn and illuminates the older secondary school attender as a remarkably mature being:

> For a variety of reasons, including better nutritional, parental, and medical care, and better housing, children in the United States today are maturing more rapidly. Physiologically they are reaching adulthood 2½ to 3½ years earlier than their forebearers did 100 years ago and 2 years earlier than their grandparents born at the turn of the 20th century. . . This adolescent sense of maturity is substantiated by recent psychological findings. In his summary of research in this area for th Panel, Sheldon White contends that a large portion of the literature about adolescence treats this period as a cumulation or peak of development. This is true not only of research on physical, sexual, and neurological

> development; the data on intelligence, problem-solving, and cognitive and moral development report a peaking and leveling off in adolescence also. Many theories view adolescence as a final stage in development.[3]

Teachers, of course, have to discriminate between adult biology and adult behavior. Emotional poise and mature powers of judgment may be stunted among those who are physically and intellectually developed. A caveat on youth idolatry, already a vigorous undercurrent in our society, is in order. A high school student can run a mile in four minutes and forty seconds or thrive on calculus while being totally inept at selecting new members of the faculty. Schools can seek differentiated responses to youth's maturing functions, recognizing that some tendencies must be held in check while others are granted significant expression.

Nevertheless, the reformers are challenging us, rightly I believe, to take a careful look at the impressive capacities of 16 to 18 year olds, and to evaluate our conventional and largely static school programs in light of their capacities. The reassessment presented in the documents under review is passionately and perhaps overly critical of the public comprehensive high school's ability to meet the educational and social needs of mature pupils. Viewed as unresponsive and authoritarian, the high school is nicknamed an "aging vat" and "a well-run obedience machine." "Passivity, conformity, and obedience are more seriously and consistently rewarded than critical thinking or activism . . ."[4]

Hickey, who questions the wisdom of many reform ideas, still finds the analysis of public school conditions highly pertinent to the contemporary Catholic high school: ". . . few would deny that Catholic high schools give similar evidence of a way of living and learning that is authoritarian, inhumane and outmoded . . . [the Catholic high school] segregates youth in an environment that strengthens the youth culture, prolongs adolescence, and leads to an ennui that has young persons going through the ritualistic cycle of the school schedule, living it up on weekends, and generally just waiting around to grow up. There is certainly a need here, too, for 'dejuvenilizing' and 'deinstitutionalizing.' "[5]

Independent schools must be as honest and self-critical as Catholic and public educators. Generalizations about the larger public and parochial schools may not always hold up for the variegated independent school, but independent schools must acknowledge their own versions of authoritarianism, boredom, and week-

end blowouts. When the needs of our older students are underscored and carefully analyzed, independent schools must own up to their share of "outmoded" practices fostering dependency.

Need to Dejuvenilize

The awkward reform nomenclature of "dejuvenilization" masks a shrewd conviction, namely, that students in all schools should be freed from any counterproductive and authoritarian practices which limit their growth toward responsible citizenship and self-realization. Young people are now forced to attend classes more days each year and spend more years in formal schooling than in the past. The student role, therefore, has become progressively dominant in the social evolution of youth in our culture. The reform message is clear and urgent: too many lives are being stifled in regimented school environments. Coleman, citing work of Sarane Boocock as evidence, observes: "Perhaps a basic characteristic of the school as a social system nearly everywhere is that the student role is essentially passive."[6]

The passivity of the school experience, according to these studies, seriously threatens an effective passage to adulthood because it robs students from taking the initiative, from assuming responsibility, from action-learning (no person learns the reality of political campaigning in the classroom), from maturing contacts with adults and, in Coleman's phrase, from "the realness of work."

The critics of secondary education who call for "dejuvenilization" seek to liberate the student from the web of traditional school routines and from the unhealthy dominance of peer influence. They propose to do so through granting students a broad range of fresh responsibilities within the school, and by providing opportunities outside the school for students to learn the realities of adult life by working with adults. A unified reform voice asks schools to abandon practices which put and pin down students in dependency roles: to design a fresh range of options which will encourage the individual to test her or his expanding capacities through work, community service, and self-actualizing responsibilities.

Work and Maturation

Pragmatism, long a determinant force in American education and social engineering, leads the reformers to emphasize the rela-

tion of work and maturity. Celebrating work as a primary rhythm of adult life, the reformers urge the dejuvenilization of schooling via earlier entry into the work place, apprenticeships, part-time jobs and an array of work-study combinations. The more extreme proposals, fully implemented, would radically reorder and reduce the present role of the high school. A vigorous independent school "reaction" to excessive off-campus commitments is provided in Dan Ayrault's essay in this volume.

We acknowledge that a work and study "interweave" already exists for the majority of older public and non-public secondary level youth. Traditionally, jobs have been held in the afternoon and evening, on weekends and during summer vacations when no direct conflict exists with school obligations. Overall the reform authors underestimate the frequency of such jobs and underplay their maturational value as growth experiences outside the confines of school and home in age-integrated settings (camp counselors, lifeguards, restaurant workers, store clerks, child care, etc.).

Another interesting trend already affecting independent education is the work option immediately following graduation. More students are following this path, either as an interim exposure to a non-academic environment before college, or as the initial in-depth search for a meaningful career. Independent schools can provide these individuals with as much technical advice and encouragement as is given in the college counseling office. The combination of out-of-work college graduates, alternative life-styles and the development of new independent school clientele may produce a need for informed career counseling in independent schools to serve a growing number of non-college bound youth.

But independent school leaders, if they are not ready to send students out into the work place, must at least ask themselves if they have fully exploited work-related opportunities within their own institutions? The school is a complex microcosm of society and it should function as an environment highly sympathetic to youthful experimentation and curiosity about the world of work. At the least the faculty and staff should number workers who display varied talents and skills. Cabinetmakers, weavers, potters, auto mechanics, stenographers, nurses and artists are capable of inspiring our students to see attractive futures which are not necessarily predicated upon the Bachelor or Arts degree.

Moreover, some students are fully capable of acting as substitute teachers, classroom aides, tutors, art assistants, lab technicians, dormitory prefects, and library workers. Others can serve as

telephone operators, receptionists, traffic controllers, admissions department aides or computer programmers. During the course of the day, without wasting time in travel or out of class, students can engage in many active tasks: cooking, painting, typing, counseling. Schools need attendance takers, mail clerks, waiters, dishwashers and carpenters. Growing toward adulthood can involve the assumption of responsibilities *at* school. These jobs can complement such proven non-student roles as captain, team manager, stage hand, musician and actor.

A few independent boarding and day schools have instituted comprehensive work programs involving every student in such basic endeavors as campus maintenance, food services and janitorial functions. Jobs are rotated and students are used as middle management leaders. Sophomores, for example, may serve as dining hall waiters and classrooms cleaners while seniors act as security officers, lifeguards and work-crew supervisors. Cost savings are a motive behind these elaborate plans, but schools remain committed to their work programs primarily for their educational and community building benefits. One residential school states this philosophy: "Participating in the community's work, respect for the homely arts, and a concern for others are, we believe, the foundation of society. This is why the work program continues to occupy a central position in the Northfield-Mount Hermon experience."[7]

The development of a significant number of campus jobs, voluntary or required, unremunerated or paid, is a function of educational philosophy, the physical characteristics of the school and the trustees' willingness to invest in increased administrative oversight. And if we are to heed the reformers, it is time for schools to reconsider the benefits of jobs for students *within* the school.

Maturation gains accruing to youth from work exposure may be idealized in the reform literature. Unsuccessful job experience will undermine self-esteem, the ability to take future risks, and authentic independence. The impact of job mastery on character development, whether the acquired skills are menial or complex, is extremely difficult to measure. The concept of the mature adult is itself nebulous and open to comflicting interpretations, and the reform reports understandably avoid a limiting definition.

Whether the reports overvalue work as a vehicle to adulthood or not, common sense and the testimony of personal experience support the claim that youth need to encounter human labor as a fundamental rhythm of social being. The lessons of punctuality,

industry, shared enterprise, skill mastery, tediousness, earned income, and having a boss, are too valuable to forfeit. When independent schools fail to provide campus work opportunities, they must be willing to jettison time honored requirements in order to free the individual to experience a promising job outside the school environment.

The Service Motif

Youth: Transition to Adulthood identifies learning through service as "a most important apprenticeship." Schools are asked to involve youth in activities that have "significant consequences for others." *Task Force* '74's Recommendation No. 16 states, "all high schools should encourage and sponsor extensive youth service programs involving a variety of community and governmental agencies . . . [and further recommends] that individual class schedules in high schools be designed in such a way as to provide time during the school day for students to leave the building and perform youth services in their communities."[8] The rationale behind the service motif is linked to affective growth and training for responsible citizenship. Crippled children's clinics, day care centers, hospitals, mental health centers, nursing homes, senior citizen homes and schools are among the possible cooperating agencies.

Exposure to human frailty, to suffering and need during the impressionistic narcissistic period of adolescence can have powerfully liberating and maturing effects upon the individual. The movement, therefore, to engage youth in concrete service opportunities strikes this reviewer as one of the most auspicious and significant proposals for the maturation of independent school attenders found in the reform panels.

Heavy enrollments in public high schools would create serious logistical problems for the implementation of a service requirement for every boy and girl. With far fewer pupils, independent schools could easily do so. If we took our responsiblity seriously, we would phase in a flexibly administered prerequisite for graduation. Students could be allowed to fulfill the requirement through any of a broad range of experiences at any point in their high school career including summer vacation periods. A student failing to meet the school's standard in humanitarian service would not receive its diploma. An awareness of some basic human need coupled with a demonstrated willingness to try to cope with it,

should be an elemental and minimal expectation for the graduates of independent schools.

Since late adolescence is a time of rapid moral development, it suggests that schools should search for effective means to re-emphasize the ideals of justice, brotherhood and service. In the long run a service requirement coupled with a classroom introduction to revolutionary and compelling individuals such as Socrates, Schweitzer, Gandhi and Martin Luther King might do more to de-juvenilize schools than the implementation of all the reform proposals. For too long now, in our attempts to individualize, we have lost sight of our reasons for doing so:

> Individuality is something to be built for the sake of something else. It is a structure of potential energies for expenditure in the service of an idea, a cultural endeavor, the betterment of man, an emergent value . . . . An individual self is made only to be lost – that is, only to pledge itself to some enterprise that is in league with a good future; and thereby find itself once more.[9]

Dejuvenilizing the Senior Year

Throughout the 1970's many independent schools initiated intensive, two to six week, off-campus work or service related projects for seniors. Experiments in the lower grades have developed more slowly and been less ambitious. Senior year innovations in the independent school have adopted or anticipated many of the major reform proposals: the expansion of the school environment, the utilization of community agencies, the different needs of individuals, career sampling, age-integrated learning, increasing choice, responsible self-management, and institutional flexibility with academic schedules and school calendars.

The possible scope and concreteness of senior projects in an independent school are shown in the following excerpt from a 1972 project:

Girls	Project	Location
Anderson, G.	Meher Spiritual Center	Myrtle Beach, S.C.
Ashelman, L.	Potters House & City Center	Washington, D.C.
Avery, S.	Sacramento Peak Observatory	Sunspot, N.M.

Girls	Project	Location
Barrett, E.	Mount Hope Day Care Center	Providence, R.I.
Barton, E.	Burlington County Home for Chronically Ill	Home
Beilby, J.	Psychology with Sister Gorman, Newton College of the Sacred Heart	Newton, Ma.
Braatz, S.	Pottery with Tom Rodd	Paw Paw, W.Va.
Brownstein, J.	Photography: "Survival" in NYC	Home
Call, L.	Student Goodwill Tour to Russia	USSR
Boys		
Abernathy, D.	University of Arkansas Medical Center	Home
Bennett, R.	Teacher: Virginia Beach Friends	Virginia Beach, Va.
Brown, S.	Senate Interior Committee	Washington, D.C.
Burton, J.	Research of Hadrian's Wall	England
Butcher, L.	Law: Nixon, Hargrave, Devans & Doyle	Rochester, N.Y.
Coles, K.	Philadelphia Friends Hospital	Philadelphia, Pa.
Crook, E.	Historical Restoration, National Park Service	Millbrook, N.J.
Crumrine, F.	Composing a musical for next term	Westtown School
Durgin, P.	Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children	Home

After designing and executing the above projects, which included keeping a daily journal, each student submitted an evaluation report. These descriptive accounts, and hundreds from former and subsequent years, are on permanent file in the Westtown library where they are widely read by underclassmen and by members of the faculty.

Oakwood School, Poughkeepsie, New York, is engaged in a more radical experiment to dejuvenilize the final high school year. Seniors and adult leaders begin the fall term with an Adirondack Mountains canoe trip and retreat "to formulate their goals and aspirations for the year ahead." Five weeks of intensive study in two academic fields follow.

The curriculum then shifts to five weeks of skill development

tied into projects like building a solar energy greenhouse, auto mechanics and canoe construction. Expert craftsmen oversee the work and assist the learners. A ten-week academic unit then predates a five-week stint in direct community service away from the campus. Students have served in day care centers, geriatric wards and a Bowery relief house in New York City. The final intensive academic block occurs before several days of evaluation and reflection. The senior year sequence is called "Adventure" and its purpose is "to educate for a future of wholeness and cooperation."

After year one Oakwood's official evaluation acknowledged various "problems," but concluded that the participating individuals had never known "so successful a year of secondary schooling before."

Before initiating "Adventure," Oakwood School wrote thirty-five colleges and asked them to comment on the program and on the effect it would have on an Oakwood student's application to attend their institution. Several colleges either raised technical questions or were reluctant to commit themselves. Otherwise, the advance response was overwhelmingly supportive. In actuality, colleges' acceptances were favorable for nearly every " Adventure" pioneer.

The Grassroots Project operated by the Sterling Institute in Vermont enrolls both high school seniors and graduates in a 30-week residential program focusing upon skill-development in the conservation occupations of agriculture, forestry, and wildlife management. Grassroots offers a rich blend of academic study, service outlets, outdoor physical labor and "challenge" experiences (winter camping, survival techniques, white-water canoeing, 3-day solo, leadership) reflecting the Outward Bound approach. At the present time the Sterling Institute is a one year institution specializing solely upon the developmental and career needs of maturing youth.

A logical, and more extreme, extension of the way the senior year could be used has been proposed by Maurice Gibbons, professor of Education at Simon Fraser University in Canada. Gibbons and the Phi Delta Kappa Task Force on Compulsory Education and Transitions for Youth have proposed a program called *Walkabout*, and independent schools should know of it. Briefly, Walkabout is a North American equivalent of a demanding six-month rite of passage for boys practiced by the aborigines in Australia. Self-initiated preplanning, intensive challenge projects,

and a significant wrap-up ceremony are the formal stages of the Walkabout.

The core of the Walkabout model lies in the successful completion of six or seven of the demanding challenge projects which call forth the responsible characteristics of adulthood. Here is where the individual is stretched and tested. Suggested challenges for the Walkabout include: developing a marketable skill (world of work), meeting the needs of others (volunteer service), displaying courage, endurance, and coping skills in an unfamiliar environment (adventure), developing proficiency in a skill for which the student was formerly dependent on others (practical skills), producing a comprehensive study in an academic subject (cognitive development), generating effective research (logical inquiry), and an in-depth exploration of one's own imagination (creativity). Each challenge is a personal choice designed to evoke and to extend the particular talents, interests and aspirations of the individual. All must be completed.[10]

Schools are encouraged to adapt the Walkabout to local settings and resources without compromising the integrity and severity of the student's challenges. Walkabout would seem ideal for twelfth-graders who are or may be afflicted with "senioritis," characterized by fuzzy goals, lethargy, indecision, anxiety, and frustration. The model includes "pre-Walkabout" attitudes and competencies which can be nurtured throughout the high school curriculum.

Transition and Growth in a Caring Climate

The Greening of the High School, the Martin report and elements in all of the other studies stress the importance of a humanistic atmosphere at the mother campus. The school of tomorrow may act as "the broker" for sending youth to and from educational adventures away from the school, but the home campus itself, in the words of Edward Meade, must be a place "for the socialization of youth," a place "where real world experience can be synthesized, analyzed, and understood by the pupil," a climate "amenable for exploring self."[11] The emergent ideals and the noble emotions of youth need to be supported by the American high school. High schools must invest in youth and underwrite the crucial transition years to adulthood. Schools *are* good places to be to become fully educable, more mature and human.

What forms of change are most precious in the transition years? How must youth grow? As indicated earlier, the reform definition

of adulthood is a general one, but the Coleman report does make a fundamental distinction: "Probably the most basic contrast between adult and nonadult is between those who are considered capable of providing at least some forms of nurture and those who are considered to require some form of nurturing. In most societies this distinction implies both vocational and emotional skills (working and loving)."[12] The reformers hold that today's youth will best achieve an understanding of the work ethic and the attainment of creative work attitudes needed to gain and hold employment through off-campus education, but I believe the capacity of youth to love can be fostered best through the internal environment and culture of the school, and through volunteer services.

The nourishment of the human potential of students in independent schools hinges largely on the scope of the faculty's commitment to fostering skills of being: the powers of the individual to cope with self and other selves. To further self exploration, some of the reformers contemplate the student's right to be alone at school, the value of meditation skills, and the goal of "internal mastery" including a keen awareness of biological rhythms and moods. A minimal response to the adolescent need to expand inwardly could be the establishment of a Quiet Room for private and small group meditation. Worship opportunities, including retreats sponsored by the school, also speak to the development of the pupil's inner realm. But the nourishment of human potential requires new and creative responses from schools, and the reports do not offer us much help in this area.

Human relations skills required for effective adult citizenship receive much attention in the reform reports. Participatory democracy and greater student involvement in decision making are urged: "Too many schools are organized and operated in such a way as to reinforce irresponsible behavior: students are too often excluded from the decision-making process and are systematically juvenilized by schools too concerned with their custodial function."[13] We know student councils tend to have very restricted responsibilities. And experiments increasing student attendance at faculty functions and independent school trustee meetings are often short-lived.

A sounder approach is to encourage student input and consultative decision making on matters directly related to student life at the school. Students can, for example, play a central role in the major discipline process. Even in heart-rending cases this painful

responsibility can be exercised and shared with faculty in a realistic manner. Instances of serious rule infraction leading to suspension or expulstion dramatize for the involved students the tension between the emotional needs of the offender and the right of the school community to protect itself. Few realities outside the school have greater existential impact and growth potential than the sobering act, more common to boarding schools, of sharing in the decision to expel a friend or peer.

Student initiative, responsible participation, and decision making must be encouraged. This we know. We also know that a complete transition from childhood to mature adulthood, from innocence to responsible independence, never quite comes off. The granting of freedom and responsibility only hastens the turmoil of growth: the dynamic confrontation of the young person with his multiple destinies bruises the personality and inevitably precipitates the fall of man. We are, as it were, too human to become fully human, fully mature. But assisting with the maturing process during this difficult passage and helping adolescents understand human weakness and value human strength must be a major task of the contemporary independent school.

Footnotes

[1]B. Frank Brown, et al., *The Reform of Secondary Education* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 124.

[2]John C. Esty, Jr., review of *The Elite Schools* by Leonard L. Baird, *Independent School*, 37:1 (October, 1977), p.50.

[3]John H. Martin, et al., *The Education of Adolescents* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 20-21.

[4]Martin, et al., pp. 68-69.

[5]Bro. Victor Hickey, F.S.C., "Review of the Five Reform Reports," in *Catholic Secondary Schools and the Educational Reform Movement in American Secdary Education* (National Catholic Educational Association, 1976), p. 24.

[6]James S. Coleman, et al., *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 81.

[7]The Catalogue of the Northfield Mount Hermon School, 1976-1977, p.1.

[8]John W. Porter, et al., *The Adolescent, Other Citizens, and Their High Schools* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1975), p. 90.

[9]Henry A. Murray, "Individuality: The Meaning and Content of Individuality in Contemporary America," *Daedalus*, 83:3 (1958), pp. 43-44.

[10]*Walkabout*, a descriptive brochure published by Phi Delta Kappa.

[11]Ruth Weinstock, *The Greening of the High School: A Report on a Conference* (Educational Facilities Laboratories and Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., 1973), p. 33.

[12]Coleman, et al., pp. 97-98.

[13]Porter, et al., p. 118. This quotation appears in a dissent by Allan A. Glatthorn.

"Schools should train students for their future roles by allowing them to exercise meaningful responsibility, even though doing so necessitates providing many opportunities to make mistakes and sometimes act irresponsibly. But error and misadjudgment expose both the students and the school to criticism, and schools, independent and public, have thus tended to take the easy route."

COMMENT BY CHRISTOPHER BERRISFORD

Earl Harrison takes an appropriately broad view of the "dejuvenilization issue, and his goals are so lofty that I rather feel to be critical of his paper would be akin to questioning the desirability of close student-faculty relationships. I too believe we need to better prepare our students for independence, but I propose to take a much narrower view. Much can be done *within the school as we know it* to encourage growth toward independence. Reflection on the reports leads me to the following suggestions.

More clearly define the student role in the decision-making process.

Martin devotes a whole chapter to this subject, pointing out the inadequacy of most citizenship training because it lacks any practical component, and the ineffectiveness of student government because it deals only in insubstantial issues.[1] His report goes furthest in recommending the establishment of joint decision-making groups involving students in areas of curriculum and personnel. Other reports recommend this change without being explicit on procedure.

The question to decide, of course, is the degree to which such responsibility is appropriately given, and where it is properly withheld. This is an issue of particular importance to independent schools, for it can fairly be assumed that a large proportion of independent school students will go on to hold positions of responsibility later in life. Schools should train them for their future roles by allowing them to exercise meaningful responsibility, even though doing so necessitates providing many opportunities to

make mistakes and sometimes act irresponsibly.

But error and misjudgment expose both the students and the school to criticism, and schools, independent and public, have thus tended to take the easy route. Schools have given students authority in matters of no great significance, while denying them the opportunity to make decisions that substantially affect themselves or their community. Students are welcomed onto various committees dominated by adults and their opinions are entertained, but the institution protects itself from having to act on any of those opinions that may contradict established policy by making sure that student representation is not substantial enough to be effective. Student participation on boards of trustees or discipline committees does not normally meet the need for increased student responsiblity because there are always safeguards against the implementation of student decisions that may not be acceptable.

In each case the student presence is designed to give an additional point of view but not to extend responsibility to them. Where this is not clearly stated in advance, or where voting powers are provided which are likely to be ineffective, the situation is aggravated, not improved. Students are aware that their involvement is token and insubstantial. The condescension involved is clear. Programs of this kind provide neither experience in making responsible decisions, nor the value of learning from mistakes. Furthermore, they give students the feeling that their opinions do not count and thus they have no need to concern themselves with community or personal responsiblity.

There are, of course, occasions when students are legitimately not given decision-making powers: when they do not carry the ultimate responsibility for their actions, and when they lack the experience and knowledge to reach a responsible decision and cannot obtain such understanding quickly. Independent schools especially cannot delegate to students the power to make decisions which affect the contract agreed upon when the students first entered the school. Furthermore, student preoccupation with the present may bias their appreciation of the longer-range needs of a community which will continue to serve others long after they have graduated.

However, it is not sensible to prohibit student responsibility simply because of conflict with the school's assumed custodial role, or because those in charge fear the consequences of students making decisions with which one or other of the adult groups in the school's constituency would not agree. There are many areas

of school life in which studer.ts can exercise more responsiblity for themselves and for others. They can be *fully* responsible for their own organizations. The can assist younger students. They can be involved with faculty on committees of immediate practical significance to the school's operation, deciding, for example, the degree to which students should be involved in community affairs during school hours or evaluating the impact of a new program. Involving students in evaluating teachers allows young people a valid exercise in responsible criticism. Furthermore, candid personal exchange between teacher and student builds trust. Sensitivity to the delicate balances in human relationships is, in itself, teaching a useful lesson to young people.

Allow students some choice in academic matters.

Coleman wants to see schools become more specialized and students allowed to choose which public school suits them best.[2] In a sense, this already happens in independent schools when parents and students make their original choice of school. Brown recommends that individual students be encouraged to assume major responsibility for their educational goals, including the opportunity to choose among copious elective course offerings.[3] Martin Mayer wisely dissents, pointing out that adolescents cannot do this.[4] Students clearly do not have a complete perspective on the alternatives, or an appreciation of the consequences. The effect of such decisions is too extended and the time it takes to recover from error is out of proportion to the benefits gained from participation in programs which, at the time of the choice, seemed to be the most appealing.

There are many areas of choice that can be provided which are not susceptible to these criticisms. Students can have control over their own time. Whenever they are not required to be in a particular class, they can be free. Supervised study halls are custodial in nature and do not teach independence. Older students, especially those with cars in a day school, can be allowed to leave the school grounds at will provided that they meet other obligations. These choices lead directly to responsible control over personal affairs. It is also clear to students that the school is placing its trust in them, which enhances their self-concept.

Provide the opportunities for success and allow for failure.

Good self-concept also comes from success. To make a decision is to accept responsibility, but to know the decision was right, not just by chance but because personal commitment and good judgment were involved, also builds confidence. To participate in an activity at which one is skilled is both pleasurable and reassuring. Since schools should strive to make young people think well of themselves, they must offer the opportunity for these experiences. School programs must be varied enough to do this. A good objective, both in setting up curriculum and in evaluating it, is to have every student, every day, engage in some activity at which he or she can show competence and derive enjoyment. Regular classes and athletic competition fulfill these criteria for many students, but not for all. Schools can overlook the latter group, making them feel that they are not fully participating members of the community, which in turn, reduces their self-esteem and leads to indifference and even hostility.

Competence means demonstrated skill, and implies definite standards. No child is helped when indadequate standards are applied. To tell a student that he has performed well when, in fact, he has not, is to be condescending. Condescension is demeaning, encourages juvenile behavior, and does nothing to stimulate self-confidence. If a young person is praised for what is not praiseworthy, his standards of excellence are diminished. If he knows he is being falsely commended, he suspects that the duplicity is the result of his own inadequacy; someone is trying to be kind to him. Learning to accept failure is as much a part of life as learning to be self-confident, and if we are to "dejuvenilize" our schools we must allow for failure. To disguise this issue is to remove education from reality which, the reports claim, is a major problem of schools.

Some schools state that they have abolished failure. If they mean that they respect the worth of every individual, and recognize that everyone can be successful at something, they have a vaiuable concept. However, their claim implies that children should always succeed and to that extent it is misleading. No one's self-concept should be damaged by fair evaluation nor by the failure to achieve high standards. Both are common experiences in life.

The good school provides a variety of programs and activities to engage as many talents as possible and it ensures that, in doing so, it does not tolerate low standards. Edythe Gaines, quoted in *The*

Greening of the High School, points out that students won't buy "counterfeit learning,"[5] and we as adults cannot do so either.

Provide a clear statement of student rights and responsibilities.

Brown puts this very directly:

> *Recommendation Number 23: Code of Student Rights and Obligations.* Every secondary school should develop and adopt a code of student rights and obligations. This code should be published and distributed to every student. It should include all school rules, regulations and procedures for suspension and expulsion with explanations of how students can defend themselves through established process.[6]

Most of the reports refer to the Tinker case in 1969 in which the United States Supreme Court pointed out that young people have rights under the Constitution. (Tinker vs. Des Moines Independent Community School District, 1969) Although the position of independent schools in this regard may be legally somewhat different, it is clear that institutions that seek to transmit the essential values of a constitutional system must themselves abide by its precepts. Public acknowledgment of this fact and an explicit statement of student rights should be part of the literature of every private school. Such a statement provides the opportunity to be similarly explicit about the obligations that make possible the rights. Brown points out that this balance in society should be an integral part of the way in which every school community conducts itself.[7]

Cast off all the extraneous activities and responsibilities that have accrued through the years.

Martin maintains that programs should not be continued if their outcomes are inferred rather than assured.[8] He points out, for example, that citizenship is not learned in the classroom even though that is the intent. Schools can easily fall into the trap of assuming that, because the intent of the program is good, or because it used to be effective, it must in practice today be beneficial. Independent schools, with their tradition of personal concern for each individual, seem especially inclined to provide programs whose purposes are clearly well-intentioned, but whose

effect is unmeasured and perhaps even the opposite of what was meant.

Traditional chapel programs were continued in the face of student opposition because they had once been a significant experience for the previous generation, overlooking the fact that the sentiments, music, language, and substance were in tune with the customs and concerns of another age, but no longer had meaning in the present world. Moody and Sankey have a limited impact on the Beatles' generation. Drug and sex education programs have been introduced and maintained without evidence that they effectively help young people because it is assumed that to do something is better than nothing. It is an assumption that should be questioned.

Martin proposes that guidance and counseling services, other than college and job information, be offered by a community counseling agency outside the school.[9] His point is that such services are badly provided in most schools, that they need expertise that teachers do not usually possess, and that they have assumed psychiatric overtones. The significant consideration for independent schools is the extent to which custodial care of this kind is appropriately provided. Where it involves services to a few individuals only, it clearly makes sense to refer such cases to outside professionals, as Martin recommends, freeing up the time of school staff for the benefit of the majority. Where guidance services are extensive, care should be taken that they are not solicitous and protective. The reports argue that students learn best when the environment allows for error and experimentation. Each school must assess its approach to individual needs to establish a balance between being helpful and available when needed, and creating an atmosphere of protectiveness and introspection destructive of practical learning by experience.

Make student publications a fair and full expression of student opinion.

Brown is again the most precise on this issue and points out that the courts have given students certain rights.[10] Since the responsible expression of informed opinion is an objective claimed by most schools, student publications should exemplify it. Too often school newspapers become propaganda organs in the name of community cohesiveness. This teaches nothing about the effective expression of opinion, nor about the need to accept responsibility and liability for what is written. A clear statement of the terms

under which the school supports the publication should be published and distributed, especially to parents. Schools should not expect student newspapers to be part of the public relations material of the school.

On these terms the student publication can be an effective agency for developing responsibility. The privileges as well as the obligations of freedom of expression are clear.

Respect individual interests as well as community obligations.

Schools, being communities, impose certain obligations on their members. Outside the family they represent a young person's first experience of the need to abdicate personal preference where it conflicts with the interests of the larger group. However, schools can distort this helpful lesson by using the force of community obligation to impose order or restrict individuality. This often results in inconsistency. For example, while urging the value of active involvement, students are regularly encouraged to give up extensive amounts of time to watch other students, especially athletes, perform. In this case, the pressures of the institution are operating against self-initiated activity that nurtures responsibility. Independent schools can make a major contribution by not equating spectatorship and school spirit.

* * * * *

The reports maintain that schools have ignored significant changes in adolescents and society. They continue to control the lives of their students both in and out of the classroom, providing little opportunity for choice or experience of life outside the school. "As a consequence." Weinstock observes, "many adolescents inhabit two worlds: the one outside the schoolhouse walls where they exercise considerable self-determination and are involved in life-shaping decisions, and the world inside the walls where every phase of their lives is dictated."[11] The case is overstated, to be sure, but it dramatically underscores the need to give students more responsibility within the school.

Footnotes

[1]John H. Martin, et al., *The Education of Adolescents* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 63-77.

[2]James S. Coleman, et al., *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (Univeristy of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 152-153.

[3] B. Frank Brown, et al., *The Reform of Secondary Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 16-17.

[4]Brown, et al., p. 168.

[5]Ruth Weinstock, *The Greening of the High School* (Educational Facilities Laboratories and Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., 1973), p. 24.

[6]Brown, et al., p. 19.

[7]Brown, et al., pp. 137-139. John W. Porter, *The Adolescent, Other Citizens and Their High Schools* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), pp. 47-51, proposes a list of eleven student *responsibilities* developed by Task Force '74 and based on guidelines developed by the State Department of Education in Michigan.

[8]Martin, et al., p. 14.

[9]Martin, et al., p. 60.

[10]Brown, et al., pp. 130-132.

[11]Weinstock, p. 17.

The Purpose of Secondary Education

The reformers ask that secondary schools concern themselves with youth's transition to adulthood, and thereby provoke a reconsideration of the goals and purposes of our schools. In his essay that follows, Dave Pynchon establishes that the present purposes of independent secondary education evolve from our common history and he offers a new view of our "elitism." Jerry Millhon, in his comment, insists that generalizations about purpose will probably not be very substantive, and proposes that practical and social considerations present insurmountable obstacles to any definitive statements.

"It is not that independent schools have a corner on the market of caring for those humanistic goals of education, but they have indeed the privilege and responsibility of long tradition, of founder's commitment, of substantial resources, of distinct supportive communities within personal scale and dimension, and of intense expectations by those who choose their schools, to do so."

THE NATIONAL SECONDARY EDUCATION REFORM MOVEMENT OF THE '70'S AND THE MISSION OF THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

by David M. Pynchon

"Islands of independence," President Dodds of Princeton called them. "Bastions of elitism," social critics of the 1960's considered them, conjuring up all of the pejorative connotations of the days. "A great national public school," Andover labeled itself in the mid-50's. And F. Scott Fitzgerald in the Twenties captured another stereotyped view of a portion of the independent schools – perhaps the one still held by the public – as he wrote his character Amory Blaine off to prep school in *This Side of Paradise:*

> There were Andover and Exeter with their memories of New England dead – large, college-like democracies; St. Mark's, Groton, St. Regis' – recruited from Boston and the Knickerbocker families of New York; St. Paul's, with its great rinks; Pomfret and St. George's, prosperous and well-dressed; Taft and Hotchkiss, which prepared the wealth of the middle-west for social success at Yale; Pawling, Westminster, Choate, Kent and a hundred others; all milling out their well-set-up, conventional, impressive type, year after year; their mental stimulus the college entrance exams; their vague purpose set forth in a hundred circulars, as "To impart a Thorough Mental, Moral, and Physical Training as a Christian Gentleman, to fit the boy for *meeting the problems of*

his day and generation, and to give a solid foundation in the Arts and Sciences."[1]

In truth, it is time for the independent schools of the nation to cast away the slogans, satires, or stereotypes of the past and to define themselves and their mission in the late 1970's, as they go about their job of educating a small but significant portion of American youth who will be in the most productive years of their lives as the world slips into the Twenty-first Century. The independent schools can hardly respond to or contribute to the current national debate on secondary education unless they do so from a position of self-understanding – the self-understanding that comes from a clarification of mission and a definition of uniqueness.

There is much in the studies of secondary education that describes what many independent schools have actually been doing for years. The inclusion of experiential programs in our curricula is just one important case in point. Accordingly, the independent schools may simply claim that the reform movement is only a belated statement from the public sector describing that which independent schools have already been doing well. There is equally the temptation for the independent schools to take one or the other of two competing but similarly non-productive positions. For some the temptation would be to accept the gospel according to Coleman, Martin and Brown, and visit more guilt and self-deprecation upon themselves for their inability to meet the suggestions of institutional reform implicit in those three important studies. More dangerous, perhaps, would be the temptation to remain aloof and disinterested – even uninformed – of the context and the substance of those studies. The independent schools have, indeed, been more prone to do the latter, and American education has not been well served by the absence of their voice.

The authors of the studies of secondary education urge Americans to reconsider the purposes of education and redefine the role of the school in the educational process. Their emphasis has been on the needs of the learners rather than the institutions – learner-centered rather than institution-centered, and their approach suggests that we as a nation have erred in allowing "education" to become immediately and totally equated with "schooling." A healthy by-product of the studies has been the restatement of educational goals by two of the groups.

The National Commission on The Reform of Secondary Education, chaired by B. Frank Brown, directed its efforts specifically

to the formulation of new national goals for secondary education. In so doing, it analyzed significant efforts of this century to state appropriate goals for the nation's secondary schools, and emphasized the importance of work done in 1918:

> The first and foremost of the efforts to define the purposes of secondary education was that of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in 1918. The summary statement of this commission, sponsored by the National Education Association, enunciated the following goals for secondary education: (1) health, (2) command of fundamental processes, (3) worthy home membership, (4) vocation, (5) citizenship, (6) worthy use of leisure time, and (7) ethical character. These became widely known as the Seven Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education . . . . In many ways, these were not goals but eternal verities. Perhaps this is why they have been able to sustain a lasting commitment from the educational profession.[2]

Brown's Commission knew, however, that these verities needed restatement for our age, and the group's learner-centered goals represent an enlightened statement for all segments of education, public and non-public:

I. Content Goals
   A. Achievement of Communication Skills.
   B. Achievement of Computation Skills.
   C. Attainment of Proficiency in Critical and Objective Thinking.
   D. Acquisition of Occupational Competence.
   E. Clear Perception of Nature and Environment.
   F. Development of Economic Understanding.
   G. Acceptance of Responsibility for Citizenship.

II. Process Goals
   A. Knowledge of Self.
   B. Appreciation of Others.
   C. Ability to Adjust to Change.
   D. Respect for Law and Authority.
   E. Clarification of Values.
   F. Appreciation of the Achievements of Man.[3]

The Coleman Panel began with a consideration of the kind of

objectives toward which environments for youth should be directed. They identified two broad classes: the "self-centered" objectives which concern the acquisition of skills as personal resources; and the "other-centered" objectives, "the opportunity for responsibilities affecting other persons." The self-centered objectives would include:

1) "Cognitive and non-cognitive skills necessary for economic independence and for occupational opportunities" – marketable skills
2) "capability of effective management of one's own affairs" – self-direction and self-management
3) "to develop capabilities as a consumer, not only of goods, but more significantly, of the cultural riches of civilization"
4) to develop "the capabilities for engaging in intense concentrated involvement in an activity" – personally satisfying activities, "whether they be scholarship, or performance . . . . . or the creation of physical objects," or still others.

The other-centered objectives for youth would include:

1) "experience with persons differing in social class, subculture, and in age"
2) "the experience of having others dependent on one's actions"
3) "interdependent activities directed toward collective goals".

All these objectives, of course, would be directed toward developing the sense of identity and self-esteem in youths upon which foundation an adult life is built.[4]

It is against the backdrop of the analyses by the "reformers" of the state of youth today, the reformulated national goals for the education of those youths, the programs and activities suggested to meet those goals, and the various responses to those reports that the independent schools must define themselves. We may then ask very specific questions regarding our own role in that national debate and reform movement. We should ask whether the Coleman, Martin, and Brown reports are accurate, complete, and valid in their analyses of the state of American youth. We should further ask whether the segment of youth so defined and considered by those panels includes the same youth served by the independent schools themselves. We should ask, "goals for whom?"

And we should question the appropriateness of those programs and activities for the purposes of education of the youth whom we serve. But I believe we must seriously engage in the self-examination that the studies prompt.

* * * * *

Independent schools will, of course, have very different and independent responses to these questions. But I think each school's task would be aided if it could be put into a larger context: if it were possible to talk of independent schools as a group, of their common characteristics and shared history. Surely, our individual purposes and missions – or at least our resolve – will be strengthened by an awareness of what independent schools have in common. And so, with considerable humility and perhaps temerity, I hazard a few generalizations.

What are the independent schools of the 1970's? They are, first and most important, the legatees of a number of significant American democratic traditions. The genesis of many was found in the original "grammar schools" decreed in early state charters. Gould Academy, as an example, before Maine separated from Massachusetts in 1820, was originally "subject to the famous Massachusetts school law of 1647, which required towns with 50 or more families to appoint a schoolmaster to teach 'all who shall resort to him,' and if the town had more than 100 families, it had to hire a man capable of teaching Latin and preparing youth 'for the Universitie.' "[5]

The next generation of schools became the academies, founded in reaction to the limited availability of the "grammar schools" and reflecting Benjamin Franklin's recognition that the new democratic, open society would need leaders educated in the universities but drawn from a wide spectrum of the people of the nation, not a self-perpetuating social and academic elite. These ideals were emphasized in his "Proposals Relating to The Education of Youth in Pensilvania" in 1749.

> He was among the first to recognize that the study of classical languages and literature was fast degenerating into a shibboleth of the educated class and that the Latin grammar school, whose chief beneficiaries were the ministry, the gentleman, and the scholar, was already an anachronism. Young people growing up in

> the invigorating, expanding world of the eighteenth century confronted a host of unprecedented opportunities for new and as yet undefined careers for which the traditional schooling was irrelevant.[6]

Franklin's visions had widespread effect in the nation's creation of academies over the next 100 years. These academies, despite their diversity throughout the nation, had certain common characteristics, as noted by Francis Parkman in his history of Gould Academy:

> They were privately controlled
>
> They were coeducational
>
> They had a religious and moral purpose, though only a minority were sectarian
>
> While often retaining the classical studies of the grammar school, they added to them more practical subjects such as algebra and geometry, surveying, navigation, English literature, history, modern languages, agriculture, "rhetoric" and public speaking
>
> They served in a sense as normal schools; their students often went to teach in the lower schools, even before finishing the academy courses or took a term off in winter or summer to do so.[7]

Even in the early foundation of these grammar schools and academies, however, there existed a tension between the training of leaders and the training of the full democratic populace.

The two Phillips Academies, Andover and Exeter, founded and endowed by cousins, both announced similar purposes of "instructing Youth, not only in English and Latin Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic and those Sciences wherein they are commonly taught, but more especially to learn them the great end and real business of living." And they directed "that the master's attention to the disposition of the minds and morals of the youth under his charge will exceed every other care."[8]

The core of independent schools' purposes can still be discerned in those founding ideals. The schools are independent, free to define themselves in the marketplace of societal needs and educational philosophy. They have been primarily college preparatory, and indeed, as one historian of the boarding schools has pointed out, "To a certain extent, the expansion of private boarding

schools in the late nineteenth century was a response to the needs of the emerging American university."[9] To the very extent that the strongest of the colleges and universities have continued to value and emphasize traditional forms of academic learning, it is not surprising that a curriculum of the liberal arts and sciences has remained the primary mode of learning in the independent schools. Yet that emphasis upon the development of the intellect has always been in tandem with – or sometimes in tension with – the socialization aims of the schools: the development of character, the inculcation of religious and moral values, the training of leaders, the motivation of youth toward high ideals. Indeed, independent schools have traditionally held high aspirations for the students and the society which they served.

It is helpful, I believe, in our pursuit of a definition of purpose in the 70's, to further explore this traditional tension in our schools between the development of the intellect and the development of "character."

Curriculum and the Liberal Education

Even as the early colonies like Massachusetts in 1647 required towns to provide the classical teachings for preparation for college, and found the instruction of little use to any but the very few who would seek college, so the history of the academies of the first half of the 19th century, of the boarding schools of the latter half, of the country day schools and ultimately of the independent schools as we have known them in more recent years has been intimately intertwined with the history of higher education – the colleges and the universities. And if the essence of their curriculum is liberal arts and sciences, so the preparation at the secondary level of the independent school is similarly grounded in the liberal arts and sciences. To the extent that colleges now permit a large number of alternatives to the liberal arts, so too have the independent schools ventured into alternatives. And if colleges have organized themselves primarily by departments of the academic fields, so have the secondary schools.

The independent school curriculum is very likely to prepare directly for the liberal arts colleges of today; more intensive exposure to the sciences prepares for the technical universities. English and American language and literature, mathematics, history, science, and foreign languages remain the common fare, with courses in the creative, graphic, and performing arts attaining an

increasingly significant role. The curriculum is similar indeed to the subjects offered in the academies of yore. It is only different in that the schools, like colleges, now package those liberal arts courses in a vast array of attractive electives, varied in title, varied in specialization, varied in the degree of esoteric inquiry.

The organic evolution of the curriculum, perhaps, was best foreseen in that remarkable statement by John Adams as he defined succinctly and metaphorically the goals of education for a developing nation: "I must study politics and war that my sons may have the liberty to study mathematics and philosophy – in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, and music." And the aim of the evolving curriculum has traditionally been to produce a liberally educated person. An independent schoolmaster provided a memorable definition in 1952, and its congruence with the "content" and "process" goals identified by Frank Brown and his National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education in 1973, and quoted above, is striking.

> The liberally educated man is articulate, both in speech and writing. He has a feel for language, a respect for clarity and directness of expression, and a knowledge of some language other than his own. He is at home in the world of quantity, number, and measurement. He thinks rationally, logically, objectively, and knows the difference between fact and opinion. When the occasion demands, however, his thought is imaginative and creative, rather than logical. He is perceptive, sensitive to form, and affected by beauty. His mind is flexible and adaptable, curious, and independent. He knows a good deal about the world of nature and the world of man, about the culture of which he is a part, but he is never merely "well-informed." He can use what he knows, with judgment and discrimination. He thinks of his business or profession, his family life, and his avocations as parts of a larger whole, parts of a purpose which he has made his own. Whether making a professional or a personal decision, he acts with maturity, balance, and perspective, which come ultimately from his knowledge of other persons, other problems, other times, other places. He has convictions, which are reasoned, although he cannot always prove them. He is tolerant about the beliefs of others because he respects

> sincerity and is not afraid of ideas. He has values, and he can communicate them to others not only by word but by example. His personal standards are high; nothing short of excellence will satisfy him. But service to his society or to his God, not personal satisfaction alone, is the purpose of his excelling. Above all, the liberally educated man is never a type. He is always a unique person, vivid in his distinction from other similarly educated persons, while sharing with them the traits we have mentioned.[10]

But the liberal arts and sciences are only the primary mode. Increasingly the schools have used their imagination to introduce additional modes of learning (experiential education, moral education, intensive education, independent study or work projects, tutorials or seminar programs); additional sites for learning (on-campus, off-campus, combinations of on-campus, off-campus); and different time-concepts of learning (modular schedules, flexible schedules, integrated day).

A substantial number of independent schools have, indeed, moved into the turf of the reform movement by honoring the value of experiential education. But it is also at this point that the independent schools will point to nagging concern about the reform movement: that the entire substance of it appears to neglect or minimize the life of the mind as an experience for youth.

Michael Timpane's Rand Corporation response to the three primary reform reports summarizes the academic mission of the high schools,[11] but it is perfectly clear that those reports are concerned chiefly with minimal academic competence, not the lofty, highly motivated independence of mind, even joy in the life of the mind which would be the target of Blackmer's liberally educated person.

Socialization

The independent schools, then, are independent, generally college preparatory, educating largely in the liberal arts mode, and yet most significantly of all, they are dedicated to the broadest and best ideals of human development. It is not that they have a corner on the market of caring for those humanistic goals of education, but they have indeed the privilege and responsibility of

long tradition, of founder's commitment, of substantial resources, of distinct supportive communities within personal scale and dimension, and of intense expectations by those who choose their schools, to do so.

Recall the founding ideals of Andover and Exeter in 1778 and 1781, or that of Roxbury Latin in 1645: "to fit them for public service, both in Church and Commonwealth." The founders directed the teachers to instruct by precept as well as example "in all scholastic, moral, and theological discipline." Roxbury Latin's current statement of purpose ably interprets the historic mission of the school. It reaffirms "a comprehensive philosophy of education: it seeks to help a student grow and develop not just academically, but morally, aesthetically, physically, and socially." And it reaffirms its institutional commitment to make available its educational resources to a student body notable for its excellence and unique for its socio-economic diversity.[12]

Or consider this excerpt from the current statement of purpose for Deerfield Academy:

> The ideal purpose of the contemporary Deerfield experience is to encourage and to help students nurture the desire and competence to develop these qualities – intellectual, moral, spiritual, aesthetic, social, and physical – which bring them the greatest possible personal and social fulfillment as human beings, and which enhance their chances of becoming significant contributors to the quality of their lives and their professions and to the welfare of their communities . . .
>
> . . . Deerfield also re-affirms its belief in the primacy of the liberal arts and sciences as our best mode of education, but we believe also that there exist significant additional types of learning experiences, just as there are different learning styles. In recent years we have provided a number of these additional types of learning experiences, including activities of "affective" education, the education which involves the feelings, the emotions, and value-setting: the learning process which is less abstract and deductive, more concretely experiential and inductive. If "cognitive" education involves cultivation of the intellect, that learning directed toward accumulation of abstract knowledge, then "affective" education emphasizes the fact that learning is an integrative

process in which a person learns how to integrate his feelings and values with his intellect; and it sees man as fundamentally a social being who interacts constantly with other human beings. It calls for some reordering of goals to recognize the centrality of a human and humane environment.[13]

For all the diversity of independent schooling, all independent schools share an intense concern for human development. Whatever the curriculum or program and however much it departs from the liberal arts curriculum common to most, the insistence is that it have not only an effect but an affect: that the process of education lead man to new heights of human potential.

Whitehead challenged us with the observation that the essence of education is that it be religious. In our time, I have been challenged by remarks made by Martin Trow which imply that the strength of private education is that it is elite – elite in the sense of being the product of a consciously chosen mission. Trow is speaking of higher education but his remarks have relevance for us, and I will quote them at some length.

> To talk about the role of diversity in contemporary American higher education – a diversity that I believe is our chief resource as we face an uncertain future – I have to use the terms "elite" and "mass" higher education. So I had better explain what I mean by them. "Elite" as applied to higher education has become a word of abuse. And yet we can't just abandon it, because it identifies something which no other term quite does. It has been used, almost always pejoratively, to refer to a kind of education available to children of wealthy and powerful families but not to those from families of lower status and less power, wealth, or income. It has also been used to refer to a traditional, humanistic education centering on the study of the classics, which included ancient history, philosophy, modern history, and mathematics. This curriculum has been broadened in the course of centuries to take in modern languages and literatures, the sciences and social sciences, which together provide a broad cultural rather than a narrowly practical vocational training.
>
> But there is another way of viewing "elite higher edu-

cation": not in terms of the students' social origins or the substance of what is studied and taught, but instead by reference to the forms of education and the level of intensity and complexity at which subjects are pursued. In this last sense it stands in contrast with "mass higher education," which has been developing in the U.S. for the past 100 years, and which has emerged in every other advanced industrial society since World War II. It is in this latter sense that I will be using the term. For today there is really no agreement on what is the necessary irreducible content of elite higher education, and we are obliged to characterize it more by its forms than by its subject matter.

I see three defining features of elite higher education: (1) It undertakes to socialize and not merely to train or inform students; that is, it tries to shape qualities of mind and feeling, attitudes and social character. It may also try to transmit skills and knowledge, but that is not what makes it elite. (2) It is carried on through a relatively close and prolonged relationship between student and teacher, and depends on the creation and survival of milieux, of social and physical settings, within which that kind of relationship can exist. (3) Whatever the specific content of the curriculum – and that indeed varies very widely – elite forms of higher education convey, and intend to convey, to students that they can accomplish large and important things in the world, that they can make important discoveries, lead great institutions, influence their nation's laws and government, add substantially to knowledge, and so forth.

In this sense, institutions of elite higher education are machines for raising ambition and for providing social support and the personal and intellectual resources for the achievement of high ambitions.[14]

Trow's words are both inspirational and sobering. Clearly, public and non-public schools alike can be elite institutions. Certainly most independent schools aspire to Trow's elitism, but unless I misread them, the recent studies of secondary education and Trow's description have much in common. Although the studies de-emphasize the "close and prolonged relationship between student and teacher," although they are designed to accommodate

the widest range of ability and social background, although they stress the importance of marketable skills, at their best those who want reform of secondary education undertake to shape "qualities of mind and feeling" and they insist that adolescents be encouraged to accomplish "large and important things in the world," by allowing them to attempt them with the assistance of teachers. In their concern for the socializing of youth, for the development of "other-centered" skills, the reformers too seem to reject much of the mass education that Trow defines. And if I am correct, and the reformers carry the day, there will be less of a difference in the future between the character of independent and public institutions, much to the benefit of the youth of America.

Trow helps me to define the mission of independent schools. Independent schools have traditionally been elite, and wish to continue to be so in the best sense of that word. Our elitism has historically been defined by our college-bound student body; by the social, religious and ethical character of our student body; by the curricula and subjects we teach. But Trow suggests that a definition of our elitism appropriate to this age will not be in terms of content – whether subject matter or student body – but of form: how we go about the process of education and to what end.

If his concept of elitism is misunderstood, it contains the seeds of demise for independent schools in this egalitarian nation. If we see his words as a justification to educate a self-perpetuating social and academic elite, new Ben Franklins will create new academies, public or private – ones elite in Trow's sense. But independent schools, like the private colleges and other similar non-profit service organizations – hospitals, museums, symphonies – do indeed serve the public good. Most importantly, it should be understood that selection of the independent school by a young person or his family is always in the context of being relative to some other educational option, and the goal of that learner should invariably be toward the higher development of skills or the higher fulfillment of growth of character or the higher commitment of service that is available among those options. This is true whether it be in terms of the "content" and "process" goals of the Brown Commission, or the liberally educated person of the Blackmer studies, or the dedication of service to Church and Commonwealth of the early "grammar schools" or the development of intellect, moral, spiritual, physical, social, and aesthetic qualities sought by our contemporary schools.

Footnotes

[1]F. Scott Fitzgerald, *This Side of Paradise* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948, Scribner Library 60), p. 23.

[2]B. Frank Brown, et al., *The Reform of Secondary Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 27-28.

[3]Brown, et al., pp. 32-34.

[4]James S. Coleman, et al., *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (University of Chicago, 1974), pp. 3-5.

[5]Francis Parkman, *The Gould Academy Story* (Gould Academy, 1976), p. 4.

[6]Otto F. Kraushaar, *American Nonpublic Schools* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. 60.

[7]Parkman, pp. 6-7.

[8]From the catalogues of the Phillips Academies, Andover and Exeter.

[9]James S. McLachlan, *American Boarding Schools* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 12.

[10]Alan R. Blackmer, et al., *General Education in School and College* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 19-20.

[11]Michael Timpane, Susan Abramowitz, Susan Berryman Bobrow, Anthony Pascal, *Youth Policy in Transition* (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1976), pp. 107-109.

[12]From the catalogue of the Roxbury Latin School.

[13]"Deerfield Academy and the 1970's," Deerfield Academy, 1972.

[14]Martin Trow, "Diversity: Key Resource For An Uncertain Future," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, September 12, 1977, pp. 9-10.

"Simply stated, educational purpose statements of any substance are defined within individual institutions. There is general consensus about common goals . . . , and we all applaud these goals, but they have very different meanings from school to school."

COMMENT BY JERRY MILLHON

Dave's paper is very reassuring to me for two reasons. First, he demonstrates that the tension between the development of character and the training of the intellect has a long history within our institutions. I have struggled with these conflicting aims since I began reading the reform reports, and keep on believing that clarity of purpose will emerge if that conflict can be resolved. Second, his proposal for a new definition of elitism may have in it something I feel independent schools much need: a sense of shared purpose that will unite constituencies within a school, a glue that will hold, and in this case bring the community together.

In reading the reports, I have not found the clarity of purpose I've been searching for, nor can I find any statement of purpose in them that I can live with *and practice*. I therefore find myself trying to reconcile my ideas about secondary education – those of a practicing teacher and school head – with those of the highly esteemed educational experts who authored the studies. My position provokes my dilemma. I am a headmaster who loves his job but finds himself managing day-to-day crises ranging from clogged pipes in the girls' room to clogged processes in development programs. My position as a manager, sometimes pitcher, often water boy, is far removed from those who authored the reform reports. Theories and philosophies regarding the purposes of education seem like distant drums in comparison to the usual issues that face me. Students are a big part of my life, as is a concern for survival of our institution and the nurturing of faculty and parent groups.

As I read the reform reports, I found much of the information quite removed from my daily experience. Brown certainly com-

piled an excellent set of recommendations that can better serve the high school age group. His thirty-two recommendations are thought-provoking. Yet my daily experience with young people rarely touches on the thirty-two recommendations. Self-esteem and confidence are as highly valued by me as by Dr. Coleman, but I see the school playing a much more vital and important role in that endeavor than he does. Personnel and personal contact remain more important to me than program, as we work at my school to enhance students' self-esteem. My experience with youth is rich with human contact, which I find exciting and central to a high-quality education. Yet it is so distant from the emphasis that the reports place on the dispersal of students and on off-campus activities.

A victim of my own perspective and my distance from the philosophic bases of the reform reports, I find myself struggling for a point of view. The metaphor that suggests itself is that of a railroad track. At the horizon, the rails converge but immediately in front of me I see two parallel rails, one that I stand on and the other that of the reports. That is, I find the institution I represent, and many similar to it, in agreement with the reports about the need to meet the needs of youth today, but I think our processes and methods are quite different from those suggested in the reports. Our concern for young people – for meeting the needs of today's youth – is parallel, but the educational processes are very different. And at the risk of confusing the metaphor, just over the horizon is a roundhouse, which is the high school, with many tracks emanating from it and going off in all different directions, one for each student. If we are going to individualize and to provide many alternative paths to a diploma, as all of the reports suggest, then to talk about *the* purpose of secondary education seems fruitless. However, let us not confuse lack of a single purpose with no purpose at all.

Is a high school education today basically an enhancement of the maturational process or an opportunity for rigorous academic development? The issue is complex and I believe only resolved in meetings of the faculty and/or governing boards of each school across the country. Staff and administrative leadership will do much to define purpose, as will the community's expectations. Secondary school options are available for our students and are reflected in the types of institutions available to families today. Public, parochial, independent and others demonstrate the variety of objectives felt important by our parents across the

country.

Simply stated, educational purpose statements of any substance are defined within individual institutions. There is general consensus about common goals (e.g., the findings of Brown that the Seven Cardinal Principles of 1918 are accepted as sufficient goals by most Americans[1]), and we all applaud these goals, but they have very different meanings from school to school. It seems impossible to demand one type of education for our diverse population. We will sacrifice high quality if we promote such a concept, and the reformers of secondary education seem to agree. So "vive la difference," and let me look briefly at the high school today and more extensively at the student population that makes the question of purpose so confounding.

Students within the school today have the option to focus on the classroom, the peer group, and/or the school environs as their arena. The reform reports used "apathetic," "hostile," and "alienated" as descriptions of the feeling of our youth in the high school. The reform reports assessed our youth as needing other arenas in which to grow besides the bureaucratic and unresponding institutions that the students are forced to attend. My question is whether we should spend time searching for appropriate and responsible school alternatives, or whether we should work to improve our present educational environments.

I am not so willing to give up the four walls. The integrity of teachers in pursuit of excellence in the classroom, the inspiration of excellent teacher models, and the human ideals that a good school works to emulate can contribute positively to the successful maturation of our youth. If we have a common purpose in secondary education, it should be to work with our students on both the academic and maturation levels. If one were to ask how much of either, my response would be 75% academic/25% maturation.

We are in the business of education. It is our responsibility to challenge our youth. Teaching skills is our first priority, sensitivity to growing youth our second, and encouraging problem-solving and putting education to use our third. If classes are interesting and appealing, if good teachers are involved and if the students are working in an environment that enables respect to thrive, then we can easily sustain a strong and challenging high school environment.

Students for the most part treat their high school institutions as they are treated. If respect for the student is not accorded, then

a lack of respect will prevail. Respect and mutual concern seem to thrive in smaller schools. Coleman alludes to this when discussing the need for more personal contact through high schools of approximately 500.[2] Decision-making, goal-setting, and expanded participation in determining the high school environment were strongly recommended in the smaller high schools of the future.

Small size and a humane yet disciplined environment are essential for success in high schools today, given the variety of young people we find in our schools. It is this diversity that requires a review of our purpose. Students come to us with:

- diverse skills in English, mathematics, etc.
- diverse social skills and maturity levels
- diverse goals
- diverse ability levels
- diverse parental expectations
- diverse economic, racial and societal backgrounds
- diverse pressures on them to perform

We then squeeze the majority of our students through the eye of the needle to the high school diploma. No wonder the reports seek major reform of secondary education.

A second look at our students highlights many of the social trends in conflict with the purposes of the institution. We attempt to give students skills and knowledge that will make them self-sufficient, independent and productive. The recent studies of secondary education support us in this effort. But the students, as I see them, are looking for security and success, or at least they are powerfully confused because they live in an age that "teaches" that some system in their lives will take care of them and that there will be or should be some immediate payback for every effort expended. They read the signals our society gives them: national health programs; Federal legislation which provides and protects; union walkouts within school systems; and even services within high school (counseling, student loans, career assistance) that meet every need – to cite only a few. If schools do take care of students, are custodial institutions of the type strongly deplored by the reformers, it may be because that is what both students and society want. Education, as I understand it and defined it above – training for independence and productivity – becomes, in short, vestigial in a society that is concerned primarily with

security. And if this happens, we are only in very small part responsible, for we cannot be expected to reverse social trends and expectations.

Coleman, Brown, and Martin all seem to favor individualization – tailoring programs to the student – and dispersion – reducing age segregation by moving students away from the school and into the community. As laudable as those aims seem, justification is difficult, especially when the diversity within our high schools is as great as it is. Sending more young people into the workplace is very demanding upon institution and community. Neither is ready or equipped to educate a mass of high school students in the workplace. Moreover, I see the new student diversity within our independent schools forcing us to help the student work within the confines of his own achievement and stage of development. Programs in the workplace are not appropriate for all. Some are ready for experiential courses at ninth grade. Others are not. But, all the reform reports discuss the workplace almost as a panacea for all students and I have a serious problem with that concept. Individualization and flexibility are necessary in finding the proper academic setting for each student. For many individuals, the best environment may not be the workplace. The choice of setting and decision about placement must be guided by the high school staff, with increasing responsibility turned over to the student as he can handle it. When the student is ready for experiential education – has the skills and maturation – I feel that feedback, structure, and follow-up are the school's responsibility.

What I sense high schools have lost over the last few decades is the control that we as adults knew as students. Control at that time may have been respect out of fear of authority. If that is gone, control surely needs a replacement. That replacement can be the respect accorded human beings, whether students or fellow teachers, or that accorded the institution itself. The students I see day by day need guidelines. Those guidelines need to be respected. The high school can provide a strong sense of community control similar to the family in the sense of expectation, demand, and understanding. All of us, as adults, need to provide reasonable models for our young. The students of today need models desperately, the teachers as well as family can provide admirable examples for youth.

Students do need adult models! Coaches, teachers, administrators, and community resource people can affect students' attitudes and images of themselves. Equally important can be parental in-

volvement in meaningful ways within the school. Parents are not intruders and can be meaningful participants in the educational process. There are many constructive ways other than parent organizations in which small schools can engage parents to participate in the high school environment, e.g., as library assistants, vocational models, or fellow students.

The purposes of the high schools in which our students spend their time should be as clearly defined within each institution as possible, however much they vary from school to school. Clearly, schools are designed for education – training the mind. Yet the mind needs a frame of reference built upon models of behavior within the adolescent vision, an awareness of options in our society, an appreciation of the high quality of the educational process and content, and an understanding that the high school has limitations. The high school can serve its primary function while also aiding the maturation process, for the training of the mind and the maturation of the person are interdependent facets of the development of our high school students.

Footnotes

[1]B. Frank Brown, *The Reform of Secondary Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 28-29. These goals were: (1) health, (2) command of fundamental processes, (3) worthy home membership, (4) vocation, (5) citizenship, (6) worthy use of leisure time, and (7) ethical character.

[2]James S. Coleman, et al., *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 154-156.

The papers that follow explore areas of particular interest to the panel – ones we believe are in need of more extended discussion. Chris Berrisford traces the changing role of the head in independent schools and identifies the demands that the recommendations of the reformers will make on the administration of schools. Fran O'Connor looks at the reports in the broad context of the developmental needs of youth, and identifies some important omissions. The curriculum received little attention in the reports and Jerry Millhon compensates by outlining a "core" curriculum. And Dan Ayrault explores the effect that proposed changes in education will have on measurement and evaluation in our schools.

". . . the reports suggest an emphasis on the managerial aspects of a role that, in independent schools, has traditionally been regarded as largely pastoral . . . This need not mean that personal influence and example are things of the past. It does mean that an effective school head must take a close, critical look at the way he spends his time."

THE ORGANIZATION OF CHANGE

by Christopher Berrisford

Proposing educational change is provocative and stimulating activity; putting it into practice is much more difficult. The reports pay little direct attention to administrative routines in schools, other than occasionally to deplore their ineffectiveness. Only Martin's report deals directly with administrative matters and he too suggests that schools are stifled by bureaucratic regulation.[1] This common criticism, however, does not stop the reformers from recommending programs which would tend to increase the administrative burden on schools.

More words are devoted to questions of governance than to administration, because the authors of the reports consider that public involvement in the initiation of change is the best way to make public schools more responsive and the public more realistic in its expectations of the schools. The issue for independent schools is not so much that of governance, but of leadership and change. I will propose in this paper that if independent schools are to change, and if independent school heads are to exert leadership in their institutions, the role of the head will necessarily undergo a transformation, and the administrative organization and procedures of the school will become a central concern for us all.

Governance

The reports examine the question of school governance and policy-making at considerable length, and have a number of recommendations based on the assumption that schools will only

change when direct, local pressure is brought to bear upon them by those most affected: students, parents and taxpayers. In independent schools, the degree to which faculty, parents, students, alumni, and outsiders should become involved in policy-making is one that is properly resolved by each school in light of its own objectives. Where policy is seriously at odds with the values of the community, the needs of students, and the wishes of parents, the normal operation of the marketplace will provide the correction that is not available in the public domain.

The question before the independent school is how best to make its system of governance responsive enough to the changing needs of young people. The conservatism of parents with respect to the education of their own children and the force of tradition in privately-controlled institutions tend to act against such institutions' being quick to change. The reports see an increase in student, parent, and teacher representation on governing bodies as an effective mechanism for change. In the independent school substantive change by this means is unlikely. The presence of a representative student, parent, or faculty member, although it may result in different issues being discussed, will not be strong enough to produce significant change by itself. The reports also consider the part that could be played by citizens' advisory committees in stimulating change. It is possible that an independent school board would wish to consult a representative group of its parents, alumni and friends. However, participatory democracy of this type is less well suited to institutions whose membership tends to be supportive and accepting in the first place.

Change in independent schools, other than that which is the result of economic factors, will be instituted by the teaching and administrative staff, and most likely will be effective when the governing board receives well-developed proposals from a professionally competent head, backed up by a strong faculty. Without leadership from the head, it is unlikely that any significant change will take place. No wise administrator will make decisions without knowing the opinions of those affected by them, without involving them in the decision-making process. Nor would it be sensible for the head of an independent school to fully delegate to representative committees the power to make decisions for which the head remains accountable.

An observation of the Brown report is that schools have not changed significantly, or for the better, in the past ten years despite "a decade of innovation."[2] There is general agreement that size is part of the problem: the public school system is so vast that its inertia prevents outside pressure from being effective. The changes that have taken place (team teaching, curriculum reform, individualized instruction) have been adopted by individual schools. Charles Richter, quoted in *The Greening of the High School*, makes the point that "change is not made on a unified front, but school by school by school. This suggests that change is more likely to occur when each school is autonomous, or as nearly autonomous as the superintendent of schools and his Board dare allow."[3]

This public school superintendent is implying that, organizationally, an independent school should be a good place to initiate change, especially since a head has a high degree of autonomous control over a single self-governing institution. Other writers emphasize the important position of the head. *This We Believe*, a publication of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, believes that the public school principal should be *the* change agent in the system.[4] Abramowitz and Timpane say that there is evidence that internal change stimulated by the principal is more effective than change from outside.[5] These observations support my belief that the head of a high school has primary responsibility for changes in its program. But more important, they also suggest an emphasis on the managerial aspects of a role that, in independent schools, has traditionally been regarded as largely pastoral.

Following the model of nineteenth-century English schools, the head of an independent boarding school was presumed to dominate his small world by the force of his personality and his physical presence. His role was paternal, concerned with the day-to-day well-being of each student based on close personal contact. The size and the stability of the community imposed few administrative demands that could not be met by staff assistants. Faculty were part of the community, living in school housing and anticipating a long period, possibly a lifetime, in the school's service. Slow transportation and geographic isolation meant that the entire

community was self-contained, functioning without the intrusion of outside pressures, and well-suited to hierarchical control and autonomous leadership. Such an atmosphere was reassuring to the parent who contemplated sending a child away from home for the first time. School took on many of the attributes of an expanded family.

With increased mobility, and as cities became larger and more affluent, day schools expanded because parents living in the suburbs found that schools based on these traditional qualities were being created within commuting distance. This enabled parents to keep the family together and cut the costs of a religious, academic or college preparatory education. Anxious to appeal to such families, and to offer a style clearly distinguishable from the local public high school, independent day schools adopted many of the attributes of the boarding schools, emphasizing individual attention, small classes and concern for personal well-being. Furthermore, the academic success of day schools, coupled with some disenchantment with trends in public education, led to more applicants and thus, in many cases, to larger schools. The head of a day school found less and less time for the daily talks with students, the coffee with a concerned teacher, or the couple of classes a day that he liked to teach.

Those schools that decided to remain small, and thus under the personal control of the head, found that it was hard to compete with the variety of programs available in the affluent public schools or in the independent schools that chose to grow. Smaller institutions tended to be less cost-effective, forcing the head to become more involved in fiscal matters, reducing his time for purely educational concerns and thus undermining a principal reason for remaining small.

Large or small, the administrative pressures of running a school have inevitably grown. A larger school means more faculty members to encourage and support, larger budgets, more planning, and more complexities in program and schedule. As a result school heads have come to rely more and more on other members of their faculties to assume many of these responsibilities. This has created a large administrative sub-group who have close daily contact with students and thus further diluted the direct personal impact that the head has on the institution. Meanwhile, the financial and administrative complexity of boarding and day schools has been additionally compounded as energy, food, and maintenance costs have gone up more speedily than tuition can follow. In addition,

student, parent, and staff demands have increased in recent years.

In every type of private school, then, new responsibilities have been forced upon the head, making his role more and more that of the manager. This need not mean that personal influence and example are things of the past. It does mean that an effective school head must take a close, critical look at the way he spends his time. In most cases he must resolve to devote himself to those functions which have the greatest impact on the well-being of the entire school community, which almost certainly entails abdicating much of the time formerly spent with individual students. Thus the view of the headmaster as pastor, father-confessor, and mature friend to young people has become impractical. While many teachers find their professional role is expanding beyond the classroom, most heads are being more closely confined to the office. It was the fashion a few years ago to talk of teachers as "facilitators." While the description has limited validity as an adequate representation of what is involved in good teaching, it is an apt word to use in delineating the main function of a school head. He makes the professional lives of teachers easier through efficient administration. At the same time, he simplifies and expedites significant change.

In nostalgic terms the loss is considerable. In practice the change offers new possibilities. By creating smaller units in the school, each headed by someone who is a responsible teacher and effective counselor, the number of people to whom a student can turn is increased.

Although the head's practical experience and daily tasks have changed considerably over the years, the need for leadership remains. There is still the responsibility to enunciate a common purpose for the institution and to see that it is effectively put into practice. In this respect the leadership role is unaltered. It has been argued elsewhere that change is necessary in schools because society has changed. The same concept applies to the role of the head – as schools change, his or her role must change.

Faculty

The people whose functions would be most affected by the changes recommended in the reports – and, indeed, without whose active support they could not be introduced – are the teachers. Yet none of the reports deals in depth with the attitude that teachers take toward change. They make no suggestion about ways in which teachers can be motivated to initiate new programs

and procedures. Faculty attitude may prove to be the most critical part of the process. Timpane says: "Simply put, high school reforms will stand or fall depending upon the cooperation of high school teachers – and their cooperation will have as its price their defining the extent of the reforms and helping determine who controls them."[6]

A headmaster's skill in persuading faculty members to try new programs may well be the most useful talent that he brings to his school. Faculty appreciation of the need for change is essential if it is to be effective. Abramowitz and Timpane also point out that the changes recommended in the reports will be harder to achieve than earlier reforms because they are not subject-matter specific, and, therefore, tend to cast teachers in unfamiliar roles. The curriculum reform movements of the 1960's were related to academic disciplines. Teachers continued to teach their subject matter, but adopted new ways of presenting it.[7] Most of the changes of the sixties were the result of teachers' enthusiasm, not administrative prompting.

The reports' recommendations for the expansion of student programs, however, would cut into some time now devoted to traditional subject matter and would tend to dissipate some of the intellectual energy formerly directed to it. Many classroom teachers would be taking on extra responsibilities outside the classroom and, although it has been customary practice in independent schools, the proposals for greater off-campus involvement would mean more organizational work for the classroom teacher – and probably less time in the classroom. Teachers in independent schools are likely to resist these changes, feeling, with considerable justification, that their performance is measured by the academic success of their students and, therefore, any attempt to diminish the commitment to basic classroom learning would make the teacher's job harder. The same results would be expected in less contact time.

Other factors are helping to condition teachers' attitudes: a) The larger number of those looking for teaching positions, which increases the importance of job security for those now teaching. There is a tendency to hang on to a job at all costs in case abdication of the present job means joining the unemployed. The reports refer to statistical projections which show that the average age of teachers in high schools will rise. This seems logical in view of the declining school age population nationally and thus the zero growth rate of most schools. However, the meeting of the

National Education Association held in the spring of 1977 produced a number of reports showing that an opposite trend was taking place. Middle aged teachers were leaving the profession.

b) Disillusionment, frustrated altruism, and a loss of idealism are noticeable in many teachers and probably account for the unexpected decisions to move into other fields. These feelings are compounded by a general lack of respect for the teaching profession on the part of the majority of the public. Repeated criticism of the schools makes it hard to be constructive and optimistic. Although these factors have less impact on the private domain, independent school teachers feel the professional stirrings and are becoming increasingly concerned. Schools would be wise to consider the professional careers of their teachers with care, providing career counseling and actively suggesting alternative patterns to those for whom teaching is no longer appropriate.

c) Financial concerns contribute to the uncertainty. Independent schools have tended to trail the public sector in salaries and benefits. The continuation of this trend could have a disastrous effect on the quality of those people who commit themselves to independent education. Furthermore, inadequate compensation is the most important contributing factor in unionization, which most independent schools hope to avoid.

d) Teachers are concerned about the balance that has to be struck between accountability and tenure. If the public is going to expect more from its schools, then teachers have to be accountable. In the long run, is commitment to the job security of the teacher or responsibility for the quality of education of the student going to be the stronger force?

e) Increasing specialization has become a trend noted in several of the reports. Such specialization suggests a commitment to a job or profession rather than to a school. Those who have particular qualifications will tend to move, even in a "frozen" market, to institutions where these can be best used. This specialization of functions has the tendency to disrupt the continuity of education and the sense of community that come to a school with a stable faculty.

The Prospect for Change

By now the picture looks gloomy. Although change is inevitable, teachers will tend to resist it, and are ambivalent, if not insecure, about the future. Parents and trustees are normally slow to

accept innovation. So the school head who finds merit in the general recommendations of the reports has several groups in his constituency that will not initially be supportive.

One development may make the task easier. Since most of the reports were written, there has been strong public pressure to re-emphasize the academic mission of schools. There is little need to document the strength of the "back to basics" movement. A compelling case for academics was made recently in an article by Frank E. Armbruster writing in the *New York Times*. He claims that the billions of dollars spent on innovative programs have been wasted and that it is time to reinstate the old traditions of teaching.[8]

It is the juxtaposition of these two forces, the need to change to meet today's students' social and intellectual requirements (as reflected in the reform reports) and the pressure to reinforce the traditional academic program, that provides the impetus for responsible growth. The leadership function of the school head is to show teachers and parents alike that many of the recommendations of the reports do not require the abdication of academic standards or expensive innovation. For example, schools can be responsive to suggestions that youth needs to learn how to be independent. On the other hand, they should not try to discontinue academic study in favor of job experiences. By strongly supporting the traditional role of the teacher, the school head can more likely anticipate a favorable faculty reaction to increases in student autonomy.

While the public demand for demonstrable academic achievement reinforces the independent school tradition, it also increases the need for the effective evaluation of teaching. Independent schools have been slow in bringing faculty evaluation in line with the best contemporary practice. This alteration is now belatedly taking place, which means that the procedural operation of the head's office is becoming more complex – more personnel matters require careful organization; few judgments can be subjective. Whether or not collective bargaining becomes a common practice in independent schools, good employment procedures are nowadays essential. They require organization, training, and a commitment of time. Schools must properly assume responsibility for seeing that teachers remain professionally up-to-date in their subject matter, in educational theory, and in teaching practice.

The head of a school that intends to diversify its program has to be able to persuade the faculty of the value of proposed new ven-

tures. He must then organize them and persuade those teachers whose classroom hours are changed that their performance in their revised functions will be fairly evaluated. All of this certainly suggests that the responsibilities and daily activities of the head of an independent school, already substantially changed in recent years, are going to move even more toward managerial responsibility. There needs to be considerable discussion of this development so that all members of the school's constituency understand what is happening. It is particularly important that trustees appreciate the issues raised by the reports and the way in which the head of the school and the faculty wish to respond. Trustees also need to appreciate the professional and personal concerns of teachers under present conditions. Otherwise there is a risk of repeating the period of misunderstanding that took place a few years ago when institutional tensions led to administrative changes which produced trauma but not much growth.

Size

In the independent schools of an earlier period, it was possible for the head to maintain a personal, paternal control over a cohesive community. In the past few years, even in smaller schools, administrative obligations have become more pressing and the head's priorities have had to be revised. We may well now have reached a time when the school that is small enough for benevolent personal control is too small to offer the necessary program for contemporary youth. It is certain that many independent schools are too large for paternalism.

What is the right size for a school?

In 1959, James Conant, in *The American High School Today*, made the case for large, comprehensive public high schools. These schools have grown larger than Conant intended, and now most critics, particularly Coleman and Martin, argue that schools are too big. Participants at a national conference on America's secondary schools held in Denver in April, 1976 (jointly sponsored by U.S.O.E. and NASSP) decided that high schools should range at a maximum from 1,500 to 2,100 students, while the maximum size for junior high schools should be 600 to 1,000 students.[9] The conferees further agreed that size was related to function and could not be discussed separately from curriculum, institutional objectives, and finances.

Conant proposed large institutions because they could offer extensive and varied programs, and because he assumed a hetero-

geneous student body would break down social barriers. In fact, larger student bodies have not resulted in a better mix. Critics claim that, because of their size and impersonality, the large public high schools have forced students to group together in smaller units which usually reflect the common social background of the members. The schools, then, are reinforcing rather than reducing the economic and social separation of society. There is also little evidence that most large high schools offer programs of higher quality than smaller ones. Martin cites a study that indicates that cost effectiveness is not apparent in size increase over a thousand students.[10]

Coleman says that there are "intangible effects which make small schools better than big schools."[11] Martin goes further in arguing that the improvement is not just in the implementation of programs but that a small school of itself produces a better educational environment than a large one. He argues that large high schools have been good for college preparatory programs, but not for other kinds.[12] The paradox is that a large number of independent schools with college preparation as their expressed purpose have elected to remain small. Can such small schools continue to be effective?

Timpane is surely correct in pointing out that smaller is not necessarily better. It is a question of balance.[13] Economic and organizational pressures are tending to increase administrative responsibilities which in turn require more financial support and thus more tuition income. The greater variety of programs suggested by most of the reports will make it harder for small institutions to be economically efficient.

Given the fact that the number of teachers is limited by the funds available, should an independent school keep its classes small and thus have fewer teachers available for alternative courses and extra programs, or should it increase the number of students in each class and thereby reduce the number of classes needed, so as to release some teachers for more diversified assignments? The authors of the reports favor a more intimate and humanely-scaled learning environment than that provided by most large public schools. However, they would argue that the independent school which deliberately or not provides a more sheltered environment is nowadays operating against the best interests of students. There is a balance to be struck here also.

The size of most independent schools is influenced by factors which are in the process of change: community demand, financial

resources, facilities and tradition. Despite these undertainties, the task is to apply the school's limited resources in a way that is most effective for today's youth. If it is true, as the reports contend, that secondary school students have not received the diversity of experience they need, and that their preparation for life has been too rigid, then school programs must adjust and become more flexible. To provide more flexibility, some of the custodial functions of the school could be discontinued, to the advantage of new programs, classes could be enlarged and could meet on a more varied schedule – there is certianly no need for intelligent, college-bound students, who have to learn to study independently, to meet with their teachers every day of the week. To expand the curriculum, therefore, there is no need to drop subject matter that is already being taught. These may, however, be difficult steps for schools with a long-standing philosophical commitment to a different approach.

As an institution increases in size and complexity, the amount of communication among its members increases, but the effectiveness of it generally decreases. Organizational pressures increase. There is a tendency, as Timpane points out, for the larger school to become "over-routinized, bureaucratized, and alienating" – and thus work against the advantages gained by its greater diversity.[14] The Denver conferees proposed that larger schools "should consider adopting the school-within-a-school concept with about a hundred and fifty students in each sub-group."[15] Boarding schools have traditionally been subdivided in such a manner. Day schools could retain the advantages of personal contact and small-group dynamics by adopting such an organizational pattern.

The constituents of the sub-group would depend upon the philosophy and the environment at each institution. The essential factor would be that each group have its own identity. The sub-group would have to meet regularly enough for the members to know one another. Its administrative head must be accessible, and have the authority to make significant decisions that respond directly to the needs of the students for whom he is responsible. Sub-grouping for special purposes or activities has existed in many independent schools for a long time. Most such groups have emphasized intramural competition. Today, the needs of society and young people call for an emphasis on cooperation as well as competition. The experience of working together with other individuals and groups is important preparation for the slower growth predicted for society and the economy in the future.

The school that organizes properly does not have to limit its size to be effective. Coleman summarizes the situation:

> Careful experimentation and monitoring of effects will be needed to inform us of the advantages and disadvantages of small and large educational units – for different kinds of students, at different levels of education, and in contexts that vary on many characteristics other than size . . . .
>
> One possible approach is to attempt to combine the advantages of the large place at its best (economies of scale, a wide array of programs, the excitement of an educational city) with the advantages of the small place at its best (a sense of deep involvement, interpersonal trust and loyalty, a unifying and motivating institutional tone). Two directions of change seem particularly fruitful to pursue. One is dual membership in the small and the large through small units within large schools. The possibilities for creative inventions and adaptations here are very large, with some interesting plans already underway that are in need of serious study. The second direction is dual membership in the small and the large through attendance in two distinct schools.[16]

This second direction is far removed from the conventional independent school's sense of autonomy, but it suggests a fascinating possibility for any small schools, reasonably close to one another, which would like to take advantage of the program varieties listed in the reports, but which lack the space and the money to do so.

* * * * *

Administrative pressures on independent schools will certainly grow, especially if they are responsive to the recommendations made in these reports. The head of an independent school is being forced to become more of an administrator and facilitator of new programs. His pastoral functions must not be lost but can and should be delegated to colleagues who assume an increased responsibility for sub-groups. Careful consideration of the alternatives, and good long-range planning, should allow any independent school, or group of schools, to organize in such a way that its fun-

damental values remain while its program becomes more varied and economically feasible.

Footnotes

[1]John H. Martin, et al., *The Education of Adolescents* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), pp. 3-4.

[2]B. Frank Brown, *The Reform of Secondary Education* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1973), pp. 6-8.

[3]Ruth Weinstock, *The Greening of the High School* (Educational Facilities Laboratories and Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., 1973), p. 70.

[4]*This We Believe*, National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1975, p. 54.

[5]Michael Timpane, Susan Abramowitz, Susan Berryman Bobrow, Anthony Pascal, *Youth Policy in Transition* (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1976), p. 104.

[6]Timpane, et al., p. 144.

[7]Timpane, et al., p. 105.

[8]Frank E. Armbruster, "The More We Spend, the Less Children Learn," *New York Times Magazine*, August 28, 1977, pp. 9-11.

[9]Thomas F. Koerner, "Relating Size to Function," in *New Dimensions for Educating Youth* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 28.

[10]Martin, et al., p. 25.

[11]James S. Coleman, et al., Youth: *Transition to Adulthood* (University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 155.

[12]Martin, et al., p. 26.

[13]Timpane, et al., p. 141.

[14]Timpane, et al., p. 101.

[15]Koerner, p. 28.

[16]Coleman, et al., p. 155.

"Perhaps one of the chief jobs for the educational practitioner is to find ways to marry these different elements and create an educational plan that is matched to the maturational needs of students, takes advantage of their growing intellectuality, but also includes opportunities for experiential learning."

THE TASKS OF ADOLESCENCE

by Frances R. O'Connor

The reform proposals of the mid-1970's contain remarkably similar observations and recommendations. They highlight the earlier physical maturation of today's adolescents, their exposure to mass media and especially to television, and their delayed entry into adult society. While their express intent is to base their recommendations on the needs of students, they ignore some critical developmental tasks of adolescents while emphasizing others. They also seem to focus on white, middle-class males, who compose about 25% of this nation's youth, and to make value judgments and recommendations that may be logical, but are unsupported by hard data.[1] These weaknesses do not negate the value of the studies, nor are they so critical that educators can use them to dismiss the reforms suggested by the reports, but they make it necessary for the practitioner to examine the suggestions carefully and assess their applicability to any specific school or school system.

The reports' focus on middle-class males is not as detrimental for independent school personnel as it is for public school educators. In spite of efforts to widen their socio-economic base, independent schools are still predominantly middle-class institutions. However, the development and concerns of the adolescent female must be a concern of educators, particularly at this time when the social, familial and work patterns of women are changing drastically. There is also a need to acknowledge the individuality of adolescents and to avoid thinking of them as a largely homogeneous population. The recommendations for individuality and flexibility

in high school programs begin to answer this need, but the discussions and rationale given by the reports often focus on the needs of students as if they were not individual and varied.

Development and Maturation of Adolescents

There is remarkably little hard data about the development of adolescents, and a continually raging discussion about whether adolescence is a natural or a culturally-induced stage of human growth. The nature vs. nurture debate has little value for the American educator. The fact is that adolescence is a developmental stage in the United States, and it has certain characteristics that can be documented. I believe it useful to consider these characteristics of adolescence in middle-class America and to see how the reform reports fit them. The most commonly accepted ones are:

(1) physical development

(2) sexual development

(3) the gradual assumption of adult roles

(4) decreasing emotional dependence on adults and the increasing importance of the peer group

(5) the development of formal reasoning

(6) the development of a sense of identity and consequent assumption of a personal ideology

Physical development

The most obvious characteristic of adolescence is physical development. The reports acknowledge an earlier physical development in today's adolescents as compared with their counterparts of twenty-five years ago. They argue that this acceleration means that today's youth are ready and desirous of becoming part of the adult society at a younger age. This assumption is at least questionable. Adult society in the United States is highly developed and complex. It is obvious that adolescents have neither the credentials nor the training necessary (or perhaps the will) to be economically successful and independent at an earlier age. Nor are they prepared, in their teens, to assume full legal responsibility for their lives. The reports suggest that young people need to be inserted into the adult world, which may be so, but their insertion would have to be as interns or students. They can, of course,

handle jobs that are limited in their demands, but these will not be regarded as permanent or satisfying by most middle-class youth.

Statistics indicate that today's youth are also not ready to marry and become parents at an earlier age than previous generations. Divorce statistics indicate that teenagers have the least probability of making a successful, long-term marriage.[2] Their earlier maturation may make them need and want intimacy at a younger age, but the pressures of life seem to indicate that the adult goals of marriage and permanency are not easily achieved by them.

The reports, with the exception of Coleman,[3] also ignore the significant differences in rates of physical, psychological and social maturation among adolescents. One of the few well-documented issues in adolescence is that of the effects of early and late maturation on self-concept for both girls and boys.[4] None of the reports address differences in rates of maturation as a significant factor in program planning.

The development of adult sexuality

A very central concern to adolescents and to the educators responsible for them is their emerging sexuality. This is an area not well addressed by the reports. Sex education is a sensitive subject in both public and independent schools, but it cannot be omitted. The absence of any detailed treatment of it is most surprising in the Coleman report, for it evidences the broadest base of all, and could be expected to be the most inclusive report.

Martin acknowledges teenage pregnancies and marriage to be serious societal concerns today.[5] He, however, does not take a position as to the role of formal education in these areas. Brown deals with "sexism" as a discrimination issue.[6] Porter states that sex education is needed, but offers few suggestions concerning it.[7] While I can only applaud the attempt to rid school of sex stereotyping, it seems a serious oversight to omit other issues of emerging sexuality from educational reforms that are professing to be focused on student needs. I refer here specifically to homosexuality and lesbianism, which are characteristic of adolescent sexual development; to the emotional effects of physical changes on adolescents; to the moral and value questions prompted by sexuality in today's society; and to the moral question of fidelity to another of the same or opposite sex – an issue of great importance to adolescents.

The gradual assumption of adult roles

The reports are probably most commendable in the recognition of adolescents' need to assume increasingly adult roles. They all point out that the standard high school program effectively isolates youth from adults and makes it difficult for them to understand or experience adult roles in work, politics or social life.

Many suggestions are advanced to allow students to grow in responsibility and to sample adult roles in business, the community and the professions. This would decrease their isolation from adults, and encourage an early entry into the adult world. One critic wisely points out that educators must be careful not to assume that delaying adult responsibilities is necessarily bad; indeed, the delay allows for the significant benefits that come from peer association.[8] However, it seems in the best interest of young people to allow them the opportunity to try on various adult roles without permanent commitment to them. Very few independent school students would use work or internship experiences as the first step to an early departure from school and entry into full adulthood. They are generally college-bound, and motivated to develop the skills and credentials necessary for a high degree of economic and social success. Independent schools, however, could develop (and some have developed) their own variants of some of the programs proposed to expose their students to a wider variety of career choices and life-styles than the more limited traditional secondary programs do.

Peer group affiliation

Another central task for the young person progressing from childhood to adulthood is the switching of his allegiance and support base from his parents and teachers to his own peer group. Thus peer group affiliation is both necessary and helpful for the adolescent. Some of the reports appear to take a rather negative and jaundiced view of adolescent groups. The Coleman report, for example, gives the weakness of the family as the cause of peer closeness, and drug abuse as one of its results.[9]

There is much evidence to indicate that the peer group does not determine the values and behavior of adolescents as much as the family does, except in the more superficial areas such as hair and clothing styles or musical preferences.[10] The reports seem to exaggerate the divisions between adolescents and their parents, and paint youth as more rebellious and anti-social than they are.[11]

This may be a result of timing; the reports date from the early seventies and current high school students seem more content and less disruptive than those of even four years ago.

It would be a serious mistake to feel the peer group is a basically destructive or negative force in adolescent development. It is necessary, serves as a practice ground for behavior appropriate to the adult society, and provides a source of feedback which can be used to modify and refine the adolescent's sense of personal identity.[12] Peer group acceptance in early adolescence has been shown to have a high correlation with educational and career sucess, and it may provide an important opportunity (perhaps the last easy chance) for repairing psychological damage incurred during childhood.[13] This is not to dispute the reports' claim that adolescents need more interaction with children and adults, but only to caution against trying to eliminate or failing to appreciate the centrality of the peer group from educational programs.

Formal reasoning

Very little is said in the reports about the fact that adolescence is the time when a person begins to be able to reason abstractly. According to Piaget, formal reasoning (as contrasted to concrete and symbolic thought) begins for most middle-class Americans at approximately twelve years of age, and is fully developed by fifteen or sixteen.[14] Though the reports deal with the age span from puberty to the early twenties, they seem to concentrate on the later half of that span. This may explain their omission of a full consideration of the educational implications of this intellectual development, but it is an area that the high school teacher and administrator cannot afford to overlook.

In their concern for new programs, work experience and insertion into the community, the reports occasionally short-change the areas of abstract reasoning, analysis, and communication (verbal and quantitative). The American public as a whole has chosen to focus on just these areas in what is commonly called the "back-to-basics" movement. Perhaps one of the chief jobs for the educational practitioner is to find ways to marry these different elements and create an educational plan that is matched to the maturational needs of students, takes advantage of their growing intellectuality, but also includes opportunities for experiential learning. Martin's report begins to address this issue by urging us to provide a "comprehensive education through a variety of means including the schools."[15]

"Many professionals and laymen regard Erikson's conceptualization of the 'quest for identity' as capturing the essence of adolescence in our culture."[16] It is not difficult to see that all of the developmental tasks mentioned thus far could be subsumed under this one. To achieve a strong personal identity, a person needs to come to terms with himself and with his relations to others and to his society, and to achieve a personal ideology to which he can be faithful. Coleman's analysis of youth's preoccupation with religious movements omits this fact of adolescent development, and attributes their cultism to a lack of closeness in the family rather than a serious search for an ideology.[17]

All of the reports are concerned with the development of personal identity, however. The Brown report considers a number of alternative routes for adolescent education, hoping to provide for individualization and affective as well as intellectual growth for young people.[18] The report also concerns itself with the balance between students' rights and their obligations, a balance critical to the development of identity.[19] Several reports indicate a concern that the custodial functions of the high school teach students that they cannot be trusted to take care of themselves,[20] and the implication is that this impairs their self-image and therefore their sense of identity. All these areas need constant examination. It should be remembered, however, that there is very little empirical evidence to allow an educator or critic to posit cause-effect relationship between educational programs and the development of a strong sense of identity. There is need for more study and more experimentation in schools before such assurances can be made.

Conclusion

The reports consider the developmental and educational needs of adolescents and youth in the United States and recommend reform. They seem to focus more on the late teens and early twenties than on the earlier years of adolescence. This makes them more valuable, perhaps, to educators of high school seniors and college students than to those working with younger students.

The reports are seriously lacking in any treatment of female needs. Perhaps the role of women is so much in flux that it is too early to make recommendations, but schools must deal with female adolescents and try to prepare them for their new roles.

The absence of recommendations for minority students also weakens the reports. Akin to these weaknesses is the absence of any serious acknowledgement of regional differences in adolescent needs and experiences. Rural society is not the same as urban society, the midwest still differs from the east, the south is not the west. One of the strengths of the country is the variety of its life-styles. Education should capitalize on these differences rather than ignore them.

The reports can also be criticized for emphasizing some aspects of adolescence at the expense of others. For example, the strong focus on off-campus learning and insertion into the adult worlds of work and politics seems to eclipse the need for intellectual training. In their attempt to help adolescents become part of the adult world, the reports disregard the value of peer groups. This type of imbalance, if not recognized, could result in unwise reforms and misguided curriculum planning.

While the reports are not faultless, they are valuable. The attempt to base educational reform on the needs of students rather than adult or societal desires is laudable. Perhaps what is needed now is a commission of practitioners who can use their experience to design in detail a variety of educational programs suited to the myriad needs of American youth.

Footnotes

[1]Michael Timpane, Susan Abramowitz, Sue Berryman Bobrow, Anthony Pascal, *Youth Policy in Transition* (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1976), pp. vii-xv.

[2]John H. Martin, et al., *The Education of Adolescents* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 42.

[3]James S. Coleman, et al., *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 91-111.

[4]Coleman, et al., p. 136.

[5]Martin, et al., p. 42.

[6]B. Frank Brown, et al., *The Reform of Secondary Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 146-161.

[7]John W. Porter, *The Adolescent, Other Citizens, and Their Schools* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1975), p. 57.

[8]Timpane, et al., pp. 48-51.

[9]Coleman, et al., p. 116.

[10]James Frederick Adams, *Understanding Adolescence: Current Developments in Adolescent Psychology*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1973), p. 291. Elizabeth Ann Malcolm and Joseph Adelson, *The Adolescent Experience* (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1966), p. 87.

[11]Timpane, et al., p. xii.

[12]Timpane, et al., pp. 48-51.

[13]Peter Blos, *On Adolescence: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation* (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 10.

[14]Jean Piaget, "Intellectual Evolution From Adolescence to Adulthood," in *Human Development*, vol. 15 (1972), pp. 1-12.

[15]Martin, et al., p. 10.

[16]Coleman, et al., p. 109.

[17]Coleman, et al., p. 117.

[18]Brown, et al., p. 74 ff.

[19]Brown, et al., pp. 126-145.

[20]Martin, et al., p. 22; Brown, et al., pp. 41-42; Coleman et al., pp. 166-168; Porter, et al., pp. 58-59.

"Let us not assume we know what common learnings should be; let us start with a clean slate and decide what the common learnings should be . . . Let us review once again and decide what trade-offs must be made, and decide how much time shall be spent on what."

A SIGNIFICANT OMMISSION – THE CURRICULUM OF THE HIGH SCHOOL

by Jerry C. Millhon

Curriculum is an awesome term, for it is the heart of the school, and as such suggests the vitality, strength and commitment of an institution. It is surprising, therefore, to find that although the reform reports propose significant changes in the school, they never address the curriculum of the school directly. Implicitly, the program of the school is found lacking in vitality, relevance and purpose, yet there is very little explicit discussion of the curriculum.

The paradox arises, I think, because the word curriculum is used by us all in two different ways. For most, curriculum is a course of study – a list of courses offered and their suggested or required sequence. The word has its origins in the Roman races and refers to the course to be run. If one pursues the metaphor a bit, the curriculum has traditionally been within an arena, but the reform reports suggest that a new course be set, a cross-country course of sorts, which would add many maturing experiences outside of the traditional arena for education – the high school.

In the process of charting the cross-country course, the reformers make little reference to the old indoor track; indeed, they seem to assume that it is still being run. I hope in this paper to question that major assumption in the reports: that we all know and can assume what should be taught in the school, and can therefore direct our attention to the addition of the cross-country course.

The second sense in which we use the word curriculum is to talk about the total program of the school in terms of its effect on the

student. It is in this sense that we talk about the "hidden curriculum" of the school – the things that are taught but are not part of the course listing. The effect of the curriculum becomes the affect of the curriculum. The way things are taught, the choice of "subjects" that make up the curriculum "course," the way the learner's role is defined – all are learned by the student, affecting him or her in ways often more powerful than the knowledge gained in the courses offered. In a sense, the reformers choose this broader definition of curriculum as they look at the schools. In their concern for the transition to adulthood, to the social dimension of learning, they suggest that the curriculum be broadened to have greater affect/effect on the developing student.

Those who have studied secondary education seem to see the curriculum as ineffective because it lacks relevance, because it does not assist the learner in making a transition to adulthood. But one can also ask if the many additions to the curriculum that have occurred over the last two decades may not have diluted the curriculum so as to make it ineffective.

No more than two decades ago, most curricular offerings in our schools were reasonably similar. Across the country, the variation of courses was minimal, and any option was thought of as extra or a "frill." Something happened in the intervening years. A burgeoning technological impact upon the society quietly nudged the educational process. Educators reacted to Sputnik with increased emphasis in science. Technology in the classroom became a visible answer to the increasing number of students, and large numbers of students were served by devices rather than teachers. Consolidation and increased numbers resulted in less control and more emphasis on passing students rather than attending to the quality of the education process.

As this was happening, educational leaders began to sense that the needs of the individual were being overlooked. Counseling, extended psychological services, and vocational services became an assumed high school responsibility. These services, combined with every effort to acknowledge technological advance and advances in knowledge, had a direct impact on curricular offerings. The course of study, once a very limited menu, became a smorgasbord from which our young people ordered, with or without advice and consent from parents and advisors. Brown's statement of the basics suggests the ground that must now be covered:

> Every school with the system of alternatives must provide its students with the basic learning skills, social understanding, democratic orientations, personal values, and career clarifications that everyone needs.[1]

As a society today, we are at loggerheads regarding curricular offerings and direction. There is a growing concern across the country demanding a *visible* return to the basic offerings. Basic offerings, competency testing, and less frill are increasingly a part of our standard vocabulary. This concern for cognitive development, although recognized throughout the reform reports, is not given adequate and specific description, perhaps because the studies took place before the concern for basics bloomed. But I think it more likely that all the authors merely assumed that a cognitive basis is the starting point for all further educational development.

I heartily agree, but as suggested in my opening paragraphs, I think we are deluded if we think we can assume what those basics are. In what follows I will detail my assumptions and indicate the "course to be run." But I do want to make it clear that I view curriculum in the broader sense and view the school *as it performs the tasks I will list* as becoming the curriculum. To common learnings we must add affective learning and the proper environmental setting before we have the essential factors in the consideration of curricular direction. Attention to each area is necessary to develop the curricular philosophy of an individual school.

Common Learning: "What the Basics Could Be!"

All reports conclude that "academic learning has been and should remain a central function of high schools and one with which schools can succeed."[2] Academic learning is, however, a nebulous term; even more uncertain is what part of the "academic" process we can agree might be common.

Yet it seems to me that the provocative ideas in the recent studies of secondary education require that we review our curriculum, and consider new forms of curricular organization. I propose that a secondary curriculum could be built upon the presupposition that the course of study should reflect the following basic contact areas: communication, calculation, global studies, aesthetic awareness, and personal growth. Such a curriculum could be

college preparatory, though not necessarily so. And I would insist that there should be the right to "pass out" of courses in all of these areas as competency is acknowledged. Moreover, it would be incumbent upon the school to devise competency criteria in each area and encourage students to satisfy requirements in this way. My curriculum outline follows.

I. Communications:

1. Reading and Writing Skills should include the study of mechanics (grammar and spelling) as well as critical analysis and careful reading.
2. Audio/Visual Analysis. In a world rich in visual and audio systems, some critical training and practice in interpretation seems essential.
3. Retrieval of Information. Retrieval is often overlooked, yet it must get attention given the astronomical amount of information available to us. Students should be able to use a library and be aware of resources available on microfilm, videotape, and in a computer.

Comment: Especially in the area of communications, competency tests including all of the above areas should be given to each student (perhaps a standard tenth grade test). Perhaps time has come to establish a committee to formulate a national competency test for English. As varied as our educational environments have become, a national test would be an important step towards a "Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval."

II. Calculation

1. Mastery of basic computational skills prior to algebra:
   a. Addition
   b. Subtraction
   c. Multiplication
   d. Division
   e. Decimals
   f. Metric conversion
   g. Percentage
2. Mathematical manipulation:
   a. Estimation
   b. Statistics
   c. Basic economics

3. Computer:
    a. Language
    b. Applications

Comment: Again, competency testing in this area is essential and feasible. I would propose an "operations" competency test at grade eight (perhaps requisite for high school entrance) and another (which would include estimation, statistics and economics) given during grade eleven.

Calculation skills should be a basic requirement in all schools. Algebra, geometry and higher mathematics should follow competency. Algebra skills can provide logic and should be a requirement for graduation, but for some students, algebra may not be a correct offering until sophomore or junior year. Algebra and geometry provide little practically, but provide for the cognitive exploration of one's logic and perspective. It would strengthen our general mathematics program across the nation to intensify basic mathematics and algebra for many, rather than insisting on higher math for those who need a slower-paced program.

III. Global Awareness

1. Geography - through current events.
2. Ecological/scientific comprehension - cycles of nature around us.
3. Historical perspective - United States history plus the study of one other geographical area, with a cross-cultural focus.
4. Comparative study of political systems.
5. Cultural enrichment through language study.
6. Future studies with a global perspective.

Comment: Global awareness should be an integral facet of our curriculum today. We are educating a generation of students who have grown up with the immediate impact of global communication. It is essential for all of us to recognize community, regional, and national differences.

All reform reports claim global awareness is a weak facet of our curriculum. Brown addresses the need directly and offers its justification: "Global education in the perspective of a curriculum for both college preparatory and non-college bound students, is concerned with scientific, ecological, and economic issues which

affect everyone."[3] I would only add that global education as I envision it would also concern itself with historical and psychological issues as well. Brown states further that the term "international education" does not suffice. He is concerned, as I am, with greater questions of war, peace, population, starvation, ocean conservation, natural resource control, nuclear proliferation and many other major issues. Awareness of these issues is as important as the historical framework in which they exist.

Biological and ecological programs that identify the inter- and intra-relationships of systems are essential as a core of information that our high school students should have. All too often, we assume our students understand the cycles that affect their lives. They don't, and the lack of knowledge in this area creates an insensitive, unaware populace.

Language is a specific course that most reform reports do not mention. In most schools, foreign language is dead. Teachers must fight for students and colleges no longer place as much emphasis on a two or three credit requirement for graduation. Our use of other languages, and our teaching of them is not supported by daily application as in Europe or other multi-cultural countries. However, the study of foreign language can incorporate a view of another culture, an understanding of composition of a language, and a better understanding of our own language. A two or three year exposure with an accent on application and culture would strengthen the quality of our high school curriculum and enhance the position of global enrichment.

IV. Aesthetic Understanding

1. Visual ecology – how we look at our world.
    a. Architecture
    b. Urban design
    c. Use of space
2. A skill study in an area of the arts.
    a. Painting
    b. Pottery
    c. Photography
    d. Music
    e. Dance
    f. Drama
3. A study of arts in society – some connections made with the community via theater, museum, or symphony.

Comment: Martin's study proposes a central and integral focus on the arts in the education of youth. His argument is based on "the ways in which participation in and encounters with the arts contribute to the quest for meaning, the ways in which they provide perceptual education, and the ways in which they enable individuals to orient themselves logically and creatively to the environment and the social world."[4] We need to explore the relationship between the curriculum and the arts. High schools seem to promote conflict between the arts and cognitive courses when they in fact could reinforce each other through an emphasis on creative manipulation.

It is really difficult for me to argue the case for the arts, for it seems so obvious. Yet traditionally the arts have been seen as frills. "If the next generation of Americans is to be faced with increased leisure time, and if their lives are to be more satisfying, then it is all the more urgent for us to recognize how vital the arts and the humanities are for the enrichment of life. The challenge we face then, is to foster a deeper concern for the arts not only in our high schools, but in our total educational program."[5]

We cannot afford to overlook the impact of the arts in the future curriculum. Its centricity is essential and it may provide the connection between the diverse elements in our curriculum.

V. Personal Growth

1. Rigorous physical education – recreational activities
    a. Life sports
    b. Fitness programs
    c. First aid
2. "Social" growth
    a. Off-campus programs
    b. Action learning
    c. Career exposure
    d. Age-integrated experiences
3. Life skills
    a. Dealing with stress
    b. Decision-making
4. The future – personal planning for life

Comment: Although core learning skills have been considered cognitive in nature, there is as much need for the basics in exposure to social and psychological areas of personal growth. We may

not want to teach courses in personal growth, but we can perhaps better facilitate normal maturational development. The average student has far too often excluded himself from social interaction on any basis other than a social context set up by the peer group. Although the "peer relationship" is essential, it is also important to encourage social involvement in circles other than similar age groups.

Because the development of "personal growth" programs is so important to me, I would like to single out Maurice Gibbon's WALKABOUT concept as the one I've seen that most creatively combines into one program the personal growth factors that I see as important. (For a description of this program see pages 58 and 59 above.) It is a program that connects with resources other than the "normal" school, yet it is monitored and directed by the high school. It allows students choice as to the type of activity within the basic challenges and it offers some sense of feedback system when under the direction of the high school.

Work on the WALKABOUT challenges would begin in the 10th grade. They would not necessarily need to be completed in the school year; they could be summer activities. As a student matures, more intense and meaningful experiences would be possible. There would be evaluation, but no grade. There could be coordinators within the community as resource people. The limit in scope of activities would depend upon the school, parent, community and most important, student confirmation of this aspect of personal growth. Negative aspects of community involvement would be minimized if proper counseling was an integral aspect of the program (and had as high priority as the counseling involved in proper course selection).

The WALKABOUT would offer a simple and direct form of non-school activity that can be under the structure of the school. This component, however, could be a visible symbol of the educational commitment to educating beyond the cognitive. The potential of the experience opens the school to the community and the community to the school. Potentially, age integration, societal involvement and work outside of school could occur. But as important, the WALKABOUT is a part of the education process.

General Comment on Common Learnings

My hope is that as you read this section, you have been engaging in a silent argument with me. I offer my curriculum as one

man's view, and a brief sketch or outline at that. My curriculum has a pragmatic bias; others might well develop a curriculum in terms of learning the different "languages" of content areas; others might develop a curriculum which emphasized the philosophical bases of content areas; other might develop a totally interdisciplinary curriculum. I'm well aware that I have left physics and chemistry out of my *common* learnings, that I have included economics and futures studies more than once, that I have absorbed language study under global awareness. All of these decisions on my part must have prompted different responses in different readers.

But decisions is very much the name of the game, it seems to me. Let us not *assume* we know what common learnings should be; let us start with a clean slate and decide what the common learnings should be. Even though I have omitted much, my proposed curriculum still contains what some will argue is more than any school can teach and teach well. Fine. Let us review once again and decide what trade-offs must be made, and decide how much time shall be spent on what. A reconsideration of common learnings should precipitate a struggle within the faculty, parents and student body if they take education at all seriously.

Conclusion

Although I have spent many pages detailing the areas of common learning, such a core, as I suggested at the outset, is only the beginning. The total curriculum is *the school as it teaches those common learnings.* Although the subjects of my curriculum are important, equally important are the people who will teach them and the *affect* of the process. As important as what is taught is how it is taught, and the environment in which it is taught.

As I read the reports, it was obvious that the curriculum was not seen as a catalyst within the school – was not seen as active and vital – and I wonder if this is so because we have not envisioned it as an interface of content, teachers, and process. In the reports, the curriculum seems so intertwined with the total environment of the school that it lacks definition as a structured course of study. This may well be necessitated by the fact that the structure of the curriculum cannot stand alone – that it cannot promote a positive effect in our institutions.

Curriculum today contains many offerings that respond to both the cognitive and non-cognitive areas of study. As we develop

these offerings, it seems essential to me to take stock both of what we as a staff do well and what we rarely accomplish.

To mention only a few such areas that require review:

- affective education
- experiential courses
- career training programs
- moral education offerings

These are a few of the learning areas which should be considered as we seek not only the proper balance but the proper environment in which our curriculum functions.

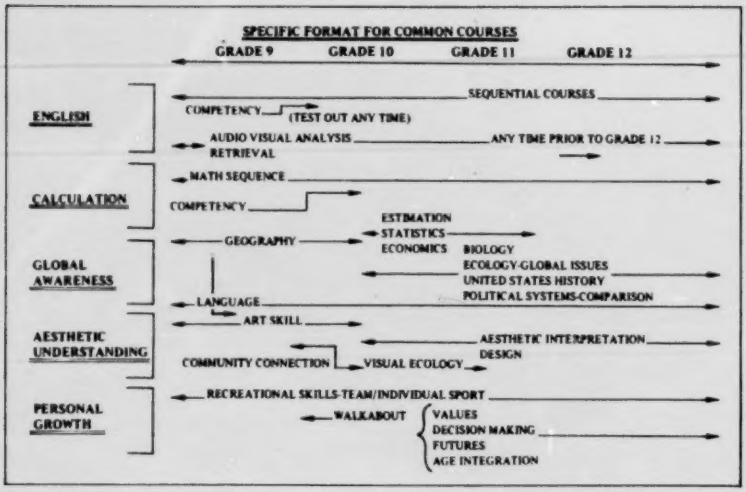
The curriculum in this paper is biased in that it reflects my belief that a nation needs to transmit a view of culture and history to the next generation. It is founded on my belief that the future of the country is as sound as the thought processes of the common citizen and that those citizens chosen to lead should have a disciplined and thorough understanding of other nations, other cultures, and an appreciation of ages, races, and backgrounds of its people.

The reform reports cite the need for individualization, flexibility, and a modern curriculum. All are based on the premise that a more effective transition to adulthood will be achieved through age integration, an understanding of the "real world," enhanced self-esteem and self-worth, and a more relevant curriculum. Although essential aspects of the transition process should be presented, it is as important to maintain our professional integrity in offering a challenging academic program. We are avoiding an essential responsibility if we give our course of study short shrift. The learning process does not necessarily need to be relevant to challenge a student. There are facets of learning that *are not* fun and demand rote application. Let us not lose sight of the importance of academic discipline.

In conclusion, I suggest that as we consider curriculum we insist on a curricular format that combines

- a well designed and integrated course of study that has the commitment of faculty and students because it is appropriate to adolescent needs.
- a teaching staff that knows its subjects, that nurtures the body of knowledge that we hand from generation to generation, and that by example encourages growth, responsibility and maturity in the students.
- a supportive, humane institutional setting that respects open-

ness, discipline, competence, and creativity in all human beings.



Footnotes

[1]B. Frank Brown, et al., *The Reform of Secondary Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 102.

[2]Michael Timpane, Susan Abramowitz, Susan Berryman Bobrow, Anthony Pascal, *Youth Policy in Transition* (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1976), p. 107.

[3]Brown, et al., p. 64.

[4]John H. Martin, et al., *The Education of Adolescents* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 78.

[5]Alvin C. Eurich, "Arts and Humanities in School and Community," in *New Dimensions for Educating Youth* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 52.

"The range and depth of preparation in traditional subjects will vary even more than they do now as schools make different decisions about the amount of time and energy to be allocated toward off-campus work and learning as compared to the portion devoted to traditional classroom study . . . . There appears to be increased need, then, for some standard method to describe student achievement in a variety of areas."

CERTIFICATION AND ARTICULATION OF LEARNING

by A. D. Ayrault, Jr.

Measurement of learning, a precondition of its certification, has always been difficult. The reform reports recommend broader educational experiences and more attention to non-cognitive development, directions supported by this independent school panel, at least to a degree, but also certain to increase the difficulties and complexities of educational measurement. Implicitly the reports advocate greater attention and resources devoted to measurement, especially to the development and use of criterion- and performance-based tests.

Purpose and Difficulty of Measurement

We can consider three basic purposes for educational measurement: first, so that student and teacher can assess progress and need, thereby also their learning or teaching effectiveness; second, to provide one basis for assessment by those to whom students, teachers and schools are accountable, e.g., parents, department heads; third, to assist the process of a student's articulation from teacher to teacher, from school to school or school to college, from school to work, by providing the receiving teacher or institution information about learning capacity and achievement.

Although surprisingly difficult from a technical standpoint and crudely handled by most teachers, cognitive measurement for traditional academic subjects is relatively easier, perhaps largely because it is more familiar and developed, than assessment of non-

cognitive objectives. Coleman stresses the responsibility of schools to broaden and refine measurement techniques as non-cognitive learning receives more attention from teachers and the public. This is an especially difficult responsibility to meet if we consider that few schools adequately evaluate cognitive learning now.

Many school critics have noted the lack of precise, valid data about what is learned or about teaching effectiveness. But schools should be cautious to distinguish between measurement sophistication appropriate for research efforts or periodic audits, and the appropriate measurement practice to be employed for every student in the daily process of instruction. For testing to be comprehensively sensitive to subtleties, and to be conclusive in result, as is necessary for research objectives, the cost in time, dollars, and technical expertise is extremely high. Thorough, intelligent research is urgently needed but rarely accomplished. The problem of controlling for extraneous variables is so difficult that large numbers of students or teachers are generally necessary in testing samples and control groups, conditions rarely obtainable in the generally smaller independent schools. Even under the best conditions results are frequently misleading or uncertain. A school or school system may wish an extremely careful periodic audit of a sample of students, or of some portion of the total program, not to conduct "research," but just to ensure thorough and responsible knowledge about the learning and teaching proceeding in that area. Except for research or audit purposes, however, schools have to be realistic, understanding and accepting the incompleteness and imprecision of most classroom or field measurement.

Some testing can be designed so that learning is accomplished simultaneously, but generally the time and resources devoted by students and teachers to measurement means a corresponding reduction in time available for learning. It is worth allocating some precious time to know what a student knows and what is lacking, enabling educational program to be tailored to a student's need. Determining the optimum portion of time and resources for measurement and validation, as compared to instruction, requires careful judgment. Because independent school teachers generally are dealing with a relatively more uniform range of ability or of prior school training, they can be lulled into complacency, giving less attention than they should to initial and individual assessment. It is upon this assessment that class program should be designed, and arrangements planned to address the varying specific needs of individual students. But much good teaching proceeds quickly and

efficiently based on a teacher's assumptions and hunches about a *class*, rather than losing momentum while the machine is stopped to examine all the parts. The trade-off problem is not trivial.

A special difficulty surrounds the measurement of educational objectives obtained through work or service opportunities. Until the state of the art improves substantially, there is probably no satisfactory way to measure the development of such desirable traits as, for example, "concern for others," one of the primary objectives advocated by Coleman. Although crude and inconclusive, for the foreseeable future the best measure will probably remain the accumulation of time engaged in a given activity yielding presumed benefits.[1]

The concern for establishing a formula for equivalence between time spent in activities off-campus and time in classroom courses (generally measured in Carnegie units) seems questionable. Classroom learning is different from work or service experience. Until someone can offer a better method for measuring *quantity* of classroom learning, there seems little gain to abandoning the much-maligned Carnegie unit to record the amount of academic classroom instruction experienced. But is it really necessary to convert other kinds of experience into Carnegie equivalents? Is it not sufficient simply to record the amount of time – probably in accumulated hours – engaged in an acceptable off-campus activity, with a brief description of the nature of that activity? Presumably, a school would require minimum numbers of Carnegie units of classroom learning, plus some minimum number of hours of work or service experience. Convertibility does not seem necessary.

Ideally, schools and teachers should be held *accountable* through "value added" measurements. That is, instead of simply measuring a student's current level of achievement, the result of learning accumulated in a variety of circumstances over many years, the increment of learning or training which a school or teacher has contributed to a student would be recorded. As obvious as this sounds, it is extremely difficult to separate current teaching and schooling effects from the natural process of maturation proceeding simultaneously, or from the many other powerful educational forces that influence a student outside formal teaching, varying substantially from student to student and family to family.

Certification of learning acquired by the student, on the other hand, *should* be comprehensive and accumulative in scope, rather

than limited to "value added" by the teachers or school. For example, a new teacher or school is interested in information about a student's ability and knowledge. It does not matter where or when or under what circumstance the knowledge or skills were acquired. There are tendencies, however, for schools to ignore or subordinate learning acquired outside school, as if teachers deprecated, or were jealous of learning acquired without their assistance. To this extent they fail to serve students as a certifying agency for the range of learning acquired in or out of school. This tendency gives support to recommendations in a number of the reports, especially Martin,[2] for the establishment of agencies or mechanisms, such as ERB tests or CLEP examinations (see below), outside the school for the validation of learning.

Articulation

When students move to different teachers or schools the basic need is for the receiving teacher to know where to begin, where to avoid unnecessary repetition, and how to avoid incorrect assumptions about a student's knowledge and skills. In the familiar transition from grade 12 to 13 the variation in prior training is enormous, even without considering variations in student ability. There is considerable overlap between school, community college, and college in the nature and rigor of academic work. Implementation of the reports' off-campus learning recommendations will increase the variation, will exaggerate the disparities. The range and depth of preparation in traditional subjects will vary even more than they do now as schools make different decisions about the amount of time and energy to be allocated toward off-campus work and learning as compared to the portion devoted to traditional classroom study.

To reduce the possible limitations of provincialism, it is important that students, especially in the transition from school to college, have maximum opportunity for geographical mobility if desired. If this interest is to be served, there must be a number of standard yardsticks broadly accepted by the educational community.

There appears to be increased need, then, for some standard methods to describe student achievement in a variety of areas. A broadened version of the College Level Examination Program (CLEP) currently in operation under the auspices of the College Board, appears to be the most feasible direction. These tests center

now on the range of learning normally encountered in the transition from school to college, or transfer during the early college years. Schools would find it helpful to have the difficulty level of these tests extended into the secondary and elementary domains, with some way to link the tests by level of difficulty and to offer descriptive guidance to allow teachers and students to identify the testing level appropriate for a given student.

Linking such tests by progressive degree of difficulty is not as easy as it sounds. But if accomplished, it would permit students and teachers to measure growth in a curriculum area over an extended period of years, permitting different teachers and different institutions to receive some *indication* of the increment of learning added at each stage.

Such tests can also be used to demonstrate learning deemed sufficient to excuse a student from a course requirement. For some time students have viewed Advance Placement of CLEP exams as a way to achieve credit toward a diploma without having to enroll in specific classes, thereby reducing tuition obligations. Some colleges, of course, insist on a full residency requirement, so that proficiency examinations work simply to avoid duplication and to provide a richer and more rigorous experience, rather than effecting any savings. However, an increasing number of colleges do permit a given amount of time (and consequent tuition) to be saved, generally no more than one academic year. Brown notes that annual cost per year for public school students now exceeds $2,000 per year, representing a substantial tax saving if students could be permitted to shorten their high school years by demonstrating proficiency through examination.[3]

For some students acceleration may be sensible. Highly talented ballet dancers, musicians, and mathematicians, for example, appear to need at a very early age advanced training and association with equally talented peers beyond the capacity of most high schools. Some students who very early in their lives make vocational decisions entailing unusually long graduate training (e.g., psychiatry or medical law) are often anxious to accelerate so that they can reduce the protracted period before active practice can begin. But there is generally a price to be paid. The price would be less if schooling were generally less age-specific.

Much in the way of social maturation and skills, and the development of confidence, occurs best in association with age-peers. The 16-year-old college sophomore might be appropriately placed for intellectual fare, but misplaced for the development of social

and emotional dimensions of being. One of the most important attributes for successful adult work or living is a basic sense of confidence in one's abilities. Through acceleration, very bright students may be constantly stretched and challenged by intellectual demands, scrambling to maintain the pace with their older mental peers, but they may lose thereby the solid confidence which comes from accurately perceiving the strength of their abilities compared to their contemporaries. Physical growth and skills, the pleasure and confidence from participation with others in physical activity, can be particularly affected by being too far out of synchronization with peers in physical development. Ease of social associations, the give and take of bull sessions, the feeling of confidence and pleasure in one's sense of humor shared with others, the feeling of respect and acceptance from one's classmates, all can be adversely affected by acceleration. Frequently, of course, it is ambitious parents who push for acceleration, gaining thereby a vicarious sense of distinction by having their child move down the line of hurdles faster than the norm.

In most instances, with reasonable attention to curriculum enrichment, or assignment of special projects, it should be possible to keep even very able students well challenged at their normal grade level. There is a good deal to be gained from letting fruit ripen slowly on the vine. Thus, it is hoped that independent school advisers will think very carefully before utilizing curriculum flexibility or exemption by examination to move students ahead of their normal age group. Nevertheless, for some students acceleration does make sense, and it is far better that the option be available and that restraint from using the option be a product of persuasion rather than prohibition.

Martin quotes approvingly the *Newman Task Force* in its report on higher education asserting the need to:

> . . . break the credentials monopoly by opening up alternative routes to obtaining credentials. The monopolistic power of colleges and universities (and, we might add, high schools) cannot be justified on the grounds of their effectiveness in screening for occupational performance, nor on the grounds that being the sole agencies for awarding degrees and credentials is necessary to their educational mission. Internal reforms now under way – a de-emphasis on grades, more independent work, credit for off-campus experience, modest expansion in the use

of equivalency examinations – are important but not enough. New paths to certification are needed.[4]

These recommendations we endorse because we believe they will help to expand student and parent choice. Nevertheless, the mechanisms for certification have to be recognized and credible. Clearly there should not be a monopoly on certification, but it may not be necessary to have a *large* number of certification alternatives to improve the situation. There can and should be, of course, a very large number of "paths" to certification, even if there is a smaller number of recognized certificating agencies or mechanisms.

The high school diploma, for example, represents one category of certification. There is an increasing number of paths a student may take to achieve the diploma, depending upon the flexibility of the high school. In addition, there is the General Educational Development test (GED) representing another certification mechanism equivalent to the high school diploma, and an even wider number of paths one could take to successful completion of the GED test.

But the high school *diploma* itself means far less – or should – than the transcript which attempts to summarize in abbreviated form the range and quality of a student's academic work in high school. There are a number of ways the transcript can be supplemented to convey similarly the nature of experiences monitored by the school outside the classroom. The diploma itself is useful primarily as a kind of minimum motivating device, setting off a unit of experience, representing a milepost – perhaps the closest approximation in contemporary American society of a "rite of passage." As such, it generally is interpreted as meaning more than a mere accumulation of a certain number and types of courses.

Because it normally takes four years to achieve, it tends to represent also the learning and maturation which develops within all the spaces around formal courses. This suggests a "residency" dimension to the high school diploma which seems wise in order to reinforce the natural pace of development referred to above. Although schools should certainly welcome student petitions for exceptions if persuasive reasons are offered, I recommend that schools affirm their belief in the importance of some learning and maturation assumed to take place over time, despite the difficulty of describing or measuring its subtleties. This belief and expectation should be stated clearly to students and parents.

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Once a sufficiently broad number of alternate paths and certification procedures have been developed, there remains the problem of a convenient way for a person to record and transmit validated records of learning and achievement in a wide variety of areas over a lifetime. The Educational Testing Service has been developing an Educational Passport to serve the ideal life-long learning society. Some central organization would receive and verify a wide variety of documents certifying learning or experience. These would be kept on file to accumulate throughout a lifetime. The individual concerned would carry a small card containing a microfiche record of all records on file at date of issue. The passport would be small enough to be carried normally and regularly like other items of personal identification. School or employment agencies would have readers permitting quick review of an individual's credentials, avoiding the cumbersome, costly, and often uncertain procedure of requesting a wide variety of documents by mail from institutions and circumstances in one's increasingly remote past.

In general, then, tomorrow's learners will be assisted in their movement through a predictably more varied and extended series of learning and work opportunities by certification devices which are specifically descriptive, flexible, and broadly credible.

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The Quality of the Expanding School Environment

The title of our booklet suggests both the panel's view of the reform reports and its response to them. The school environment is expanding and must do so, much along the lines projected in the reform reports. And our concern must now be with the quality of this new environment – with the quality and tone of the school given the new functions we are assuming. Earl Harrison's paper which follows is a summary of sorts, one written from a very definite point of view by a person who obviously believes in the uniqueness and importance of independent schools, their public role, and the power of a humane institution.

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"Established or new, each school environment, ideally, will 'allow itself to be manipulated.' . . . Recycled space lends itself to creativity and gives faculty and students a real "sense of possession." . . . A subtle message is also present, 'You can do it here. This is your time and place. This school belongs to you.'"

THE QUALITY OF THE EXPANDING SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

by Earl G. Harrison, Jr.

"Fear."

It was the instant response from the beleaguered principal of a jammed, triple-shift Philadelphia high school. And it jolted the complacency of the kibitzing private school teacher from Penn Charter who had casually inquired, "What is your chief problem?"

This terse exchange took place one morning in the late 1960's. There were few hints of sunlight in the school corridors where plainclothes security officers had already confronted me twice. Spontaneity and thoughtful teaching in a social studies class created a bright moment. Later, in an English section geared to 18 and 19 year old seniors, who possessed only elementary level language skills, a brisk discussion on jobs surfaced. Abrasively, an angry youth stared at his Black brother, "What do you think you've learned to do here?"

"I've learned to mix paints."

"Dummy," flashed back the interrogator, "don't you know machines are going to mix paints."

The secondary school reform reports confirm and document on a national scale the impressions I received in Philadelphia a decade ago. So many schools in our land reflect "the pathology of the city." Far too many young people have been wasted in and by their unhealthy educational environments. Martin stated that nearly 2.5 million youths leave the "general" track of the comprehensive high school every year prepared for neither college nor a job.[1] *Up the Down Staircase* (1964) and *Crisis in the Classroom*

(1970) served as widely read early warning signals, but the full consequences of national neglect in secondary education can scarcely be known.

The advantages of hindsight reveal that the early reform studies were published after extraordinary demographic and sociological forces had coalesced to undermine traditional schooling: "Blatent racism and violence have subsided, but the management of the large American high school in the past decade has been an exercise in survival."[2] The reports note assaults on teachers and students, vandalism, security problems and absenteeism. The reformers, understandably, recommend the vast expansion of the public school campus, at least in part, to "guarantee better dispersal of students" and to "diminish the severity of the school crime problem."[3]

Independent schools are free of the enrollment density and crime dilemmas, but the argument for schools without walls also stems from other generic conditions. Many schools – public and private – are not cohesive, do not reflect significant values and aims, "impose dependency," "withhold responsibility," and fail to meet the needs of youth who are striving toward adulthood. The reformers find widespread alienation among students within public schools and conclude that, "Some high schools as presently organized are not suitable environments for adolescents learning to become responsible adults."[4]

The hard look at school environments is enlightening. It raises a basic query. Should unhealthy schools be redeemed or closed? Demographic shifts will continue to terminate obsolete public schools and might mitigate some of the environmental problems in others. The marginal independent school must also face reality. When the climate within an independent school fails to meet the needs of maturing youth, falling demand for its services will eventually kill the operation. Several choices confront us. Feeble independent schools can be closed or merged with sympathetic institutions to generate more promising environments for learning. The venturesome and entrepreneurial may establish new schools. Or, as circumstances will probably dictate, existing secondary schools can evolve increasingly diverse climates, both on and off campus, for human growth.

Appropriately, the reform hope for the renewal of the high school includes many creative suggestions to strengthen the climate for learning. The institutional mold and caste system of the high school can be transformed by "a fresh organizational structure."[5] Recommendations stress the advantages of community-based learning away from the campus, friendly involvement of the neighborhood in the life of the school, and internal changes opening up increased choice and personal responsibility for each student. The reform use of the term "learning environment" refers to *any* setting in which the education of youth can be advanced with clear emphasis placed upon work opportunities. This broad view of environment mandates the scattering of students outside their schools: "Proposals for dispersion abound, but their main theme is earlier experience in the workplace."[6]

The shift of important segments of the school curriculum to community managed work and study experiences has immense implications. Time, logistics, cost and evaluation are among the immediate considerations. Experiments are needed. Over a fifty year span Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, has served as a prototype at the collegiate level. Normally, the high school student would be placed in situations near home and school, but the key question remains: To what extent can an independent school or a public one retain its best qualities, traditions and distinctive atmosphere while simultaneously serving as the home-base for a nexus of satellite campuses? The reformers are calling for novel learning environments and are making radical new assumptions about the nature of a secondary school. The projected new learning system, possibly reducing on-campus study time to two to four hours daily, would be formed "through complementary arrangements and linkages among many organizations *including schools.*"[7] The rhythm of education would become more mobile and the need for adroit monitoring of a far-flung learning system would be crucial.

If high school students are going to spend significant blocks of time away from school in new learning environments (hospitals, governmental agencies, farms, buisness firms, etc.), an educator might assume that the student's family would be a partner with the school in the planning and monitoring of experiential educa-

tion. The reformers, however, generally ignore family role. Moreover, a fundamental assumption in the reform posture is that family environments are not sufficient settings for the social maturation of youth. This view, though not the subject of this essay, needs, I believe, to be recognized and vigorously questioned.

The Coleman study notes that the American family has decreased in size and strength and lost many of the functions which formerly aided youth in the transition to work and social maturity. The subsequent reports also adopt this assumption and generally overlook or discount the educational role of the family: "None of the reports discuss the families the youths are leaving or those that they will form."[8] The Coleman panel acknowledged at the outset that it had "chosen to concentrate our attention on extra-familial life"[9] and ultimately claimed that youth today "are deprived of psychic support from persons of other ages, *a psychic support that once came from the family . . .* " [emphasis added].[10] This pessimistic and largely undocumented assertion about the contemporary family helps to explain the reformer's recommendation for community-based learning.

When home and school are both perceived as having failed to meet the developmental needs of youth, it is really not surprising to find an emergent faith placed in other institutions. If such a faith is grounded in a misconception or oversimplification of the family's impact or if new programs are enacted at the expense of the family, then the proposed innovations may be disruptive and short-lived. (The declining influence of the family cited in the Coleman report may reflect the panel's preoccupation with the 14 to 24 age group whereas secondary school practitioners are interested in the patterns and needs of 12 to 18 year olds.)

Who would deny, certainly not the boarding school admissions officer, that the American family has received a series of shocks in the twentieth century? The number of children deprived of adequate familial support inevitably increased in a restless and expanding society. However, the fact that the family itself is in a state of transmutation is not sufficient grounds for discrediting its potency in assisting girls and boys in "becoming adults," to use Coleman's phrase. Gossips, journalists and sociologists malign the nuclear family, but educators in independent schools should be extremely cautious to avoid radical innovations stemming from the conjecture that the family is weak and inept. *Wall Street Journal Views America Tomorrow* provides an optimistic assessment of the family's resiliency and future:

> The American family, fractured by divorce, bewildered by sexual freedom, threatened by women's liberation, and seemingly scorned by its progeny, is going to make it. By the year 2000, the nuclear family, the group of father, mother and dependent children that has been the dominant family form in the West since the eighteenth century, will not only be around but will be a more benevolent institution than many people think it has been.
>
> Such is the concensus of psychologists, theologians, counselors, sociologists, and others who make a business of studying family life. They think that the family of the future will be smaller, less permanent, and more vulnerable to change, but that it will survive and even thrive. Virginia Satir, an influential author and family therapist in Palo Alto, California, says of the family twenty-four years hence: "I see a freedom without anarchy. I see people becoming more mature and a whole new change in how men and women can be in touch with themselves." A few blocks away at the Mental Research Institute, Stanford University psychologist Paul Watzlawick says, "Within a generation, we shall be back at an extremely family-oriented society."[11]

Discretionary income per child rises as the size of the family shrinks. Two-career couples will also have more money for both alternative and traditional education. The family of tomorrow may well become a discerning consumer of the best in elementary, secondary and life-long education and the introduction of the voucher system would only accelerate and democratize this trend.

Assuming the family will remain the homebase for basic educational choices and that parents are becoming increasingly sophisticated in analyzing broadening options, it behooves independent school leaders to plan for the future by supporting families. While surveying the national educational picture, *U.S. News and World Report* listed among the most urgent priorities, "Returning to the family, as much and as soon as possible, its past authority in raising children – with schools and government in roles more supportive of the family than is usually the case today."[12]

Parents and guardians who seek quality in learning are going to continue to influence educational policy-makers. *The Greening of the High School* documented many promising pilot programs *in*

the community. It also noted: ". . . Pauline Wyre, an articulate black parent from the south Bronx, New York, put in a strong counter-argument for the school as a place to go *to* not *from*. 'Everybody here seems to want to keep their kids *in* school and they want the community to come in and help them *there*.' "[13]

When concerned independent school parents and professional personnel at the school put their heads together the needs of the individual student are frequently well served. As pupils mature they will naturally seek liberating experiences beyond family and school. Parents and educators surely welcome the transition which reduces their respective roles, but this cannot mean that we abdicate the responsibilities of the home and school partnership. The individual's secure independence is an achievement generally reflecting the advantages of sound schooling and family life. It is unwise for the reformers to ignore parents as resources, for their is little assurance that community resources alone are better equipped to fashion effective maturational alternatives.

A National Scheme of Options

The future support of the independent school and the quality of its offerings both on and off campus will hinge upon the symbiotic home and school alliance. Parents, for example, will themselves uncover many of the best off-campus learning opportunities and the overall administration of the expanded school environment will require parental understanding and cooperation.

Independent schools are an expression of vital parent trust and investment. Parental belief that schools can nurture genuine manhood and womanhood is especially evident in the 24-hour-a-day setting of the boarding environment which may surpass all other types of schooling in its ability to foster the stable adult-youth relationships valued so highly in the reform analysis of youth's present need.[14] The larger independent day school situated in or near a city more nearly approximates the sociological context employed by the different reform commissions. Every independent school is, theoretically, an alternative environment adding to the national scheme of options:

> Independent schools, never comprehensive in the pattern of the public schools, may become a more important source of alternative programs and approaches. The proponents of "voucher" systems . . . are, in es-

sence, arguing for a way to finance independent alternative schools. Nonpublic schools, including independent and church-related institutions, must be included in any system of educational alternatives if effective freedom of choice is to be given all students.[15]

Parents, teachers, administrators and trustees involved in private schools ought to have a spirit of evolutionary hope because our enterprises predate and possibly prefigure the model schools of tomorrow. Consider the rich opportunities found in residential environments like Midland School, Ca.; The Orme School, Az.; Colorado Rocky Mountain School; Wester Reserve Academy, Ohio; Asheville School, N.C.; Hotchkiss School, Ct.; and Simon's Rock – Early College, Ma.; the diversity of day types such as The Good Hope School, St. Croix; Westminster Schools, Ga.; St. Stephen's School, Va.; Germantown Friends School, Pa.; The Kinkaid School, Tx.; Albuquerque Academy, N.M.; The Charles Wright Academy, Wa.; and Punahou School, Hi. The accomplishments, the excellence and the scale of these and hundreds of other independent "alternatives" bode well for the future.

Human Resources Center

Robert Propst, a school architect sharing the reformers' vision, hopes that the alternative high school of the future will serve as "a showplace of society functioning."[16] During recent years independent schools have begun to share campus facilities with neighbors in a more systematic and useful manner. The practice of making gyms, playing fields and tennis courts available to the public is widespread and helps to break down the isolation of the private school from its neighbors.

Reformers would have us explore further institutional adaptations for the benefit of the broader community and for the well-being of the school itself. Independent schools can sponsor public lectures, adult education, special children's programs and community use of library and public gathering spaces. Science and art labs can be shared and community artists will welcome the opportunity to exhibit in independent schools. Schools with theater facilities may wish to introduce community plays encouraging participation by neighbors as well as students and staff. Open houses, "special days," or festivals can be developed as joyful, age-integrated occasions symbolizing the school's natural and friendly

interest in groups which are not necessarily represented within the core educational mission. Each independent school will need to assess its peculiar limits and potentials as a resource center. Funding and knowledgeable personnel to facilitate community programs are essential. The reformers see an overall master school plan as providing designated community spaces, school spaces and jointly used spaces. By definition then a private school would have a working commitment to the public interest and to public service. The frequent utilization of the campus by neighbors would help students to appreciate their school's larger communal role and outsiders could perceive a less isolated institution displaying human concern on a broad front.

Clarity of School Identity

Excellence in independent education cannot be achieved in the absence of a clear and distinct school purpose. When a school is having problems with its identity and philosophy the effectiveness of the school's environment will suffer. The reform reports encourage all schools to articulate specific aims, to be different and specialized.

Accreditation procedures require independent schools to update philosophy and objectives approximately once every decade. A self-imposed five year rule for the formal review of school philosophy, including unique or special features and a detailed analysis of the community to be served, would be helpful to the individuals responsible for planning. Basic philosophy, naturally, can be stable, but the re-evaluation of aims during each five-year interval might take into consideration such dynamic factors as the quicker turnover of school heads, enrollment trends with changing clientele, commitments to diversity in program, school size, 12-month programs, increased alliances with community organizations, and development priorities.

A more precise understanding of the school's mission would encourage more responsible plant development. More is not better, and bricks and mortar expansion can no longer be equated with educational progress. By example, school communities must conserve in the new economic order of finite resources. Build when we must. Otherwise invest in human development and carefully explain to the entire school community why the new gym or science hall has been tabled.

Students, parents, community representatives and alumni may

be included in the periodic fresh articulation of school purpose, but the faculty, administration and board of trustees must bear the prime responsibility. The better part of a calendar year might be provided for research, discussion and summation. Involving all constituencies in the dialogue on school mission is hard work, but the result should be a common understanding of the school's needs and significance.

Creative independent schools somehow sustain an appropriate balance among competing objectives: between cognitive and affective development, between cooperation and competition within the school, between the rights of the individual and the need for group norms, between materialistic and spiritual values. Candid monitoring of these tensions – to ask if the balance demands restoration, to adapt programs to changing student needs – will determine the quality of the learning atmosphere.

Wise trustee leadership helps to maintain the school's firm identity by insisting upon the cultivation of a school environment balancing values to meet youth's most fundamental needs. The contemporary trustee of a private school can strive to serve school *and* society through the establishment of policies which develop the humanity of the school environment while also employing the institution's resources in a useful public spirited manner. It is an intricate task and no single function is more demanding and crucial than to appoint and support a headmistress or headmaster who will share and further these objectives.

The School Head

Public school principals and independent school heads have had very tough jobs during the past decade. An experienced school leader must pause before he is able to answer to the question, "What do you do?" Recommendation No. 10 in *The Adolescent, Other Citizens, and Their High Schools* asks school boards to "recognize the complexities and extreme pressures of the principalship" before salary arrangements are "determined independently."[17] What a shame it is that these "pressures" are never dissected in the reform reports.

It is really amazing that volumes devoted to the improvement of the learning environment for our youth devote so little discussion to the role of the chief educator in the school. The NASSP publication, *This We Believe*, states that principals "must do more" than administer and evaluate because they are "spokespersons"

and "public symbols." They must initiate "the consideration of new goals" while planning "for the futures of their schools." Finally:

> *The qualities exhibited by the principal as a person and as a professional have a significant impact upon the character of the school.* An energetic, communicative and emotionally stable principal can be a positive catalyst . . . . The constant renewal of staff in times of constant change is an important leadership responsibility of the principalship. Keeping faculty and students aware of contemporary issues affecting education, and exposing the school to new practices and procedures, can revitalize the staff and renew the capability and spirit of the school.[18]

These aims are sound and independent school heads can easily identify their own vocations with them. However, the same expectations could have been expressed years ago.

How have the times changed for the heads of our schools? A thorough explanation would require a systematic investigation. The increased size and complexity of independent schools, demands imposed by the new development offices, community outreach programs, issues related to state aid and increasing regulation, legal problems, student initiatives and "rights," increasing faculty aggressiveness and the sheer multiplicity of events are among the factors to be examined.

A few common sense observations may be in order. Most school heads are former classroom teachers. Granted that fewer individuals now jump directly from full-time teaching to the headship, the fact remains that many assume it with inadequate training and a person-centered orientation. The new management responsibilities begin to require more and more of the head's creative energy and the divorce from the student body becomes inevitable. This conflict is deeply felt by individuals who originally chose teaching as a profession. It is further exacerbated by the parental expectation that the head of a private school should be cognizant of their child's name, interests and standing in the school. In essence, many heads feel torn apart by the competition between the expanded administrative role and the traditional pastoral role so effectively delineated by Chris Berrisford earlier in this booklet. Individuals who are unable to resolve these tensions often quit, change schools or are fired.

If the board and head want to fashion a more humane environment, the management syndrome can be a trap. Yes, the institution will be run. But the issue is whether it will be led. The operation of the school is not the prime duty of the head: the various functions can be largely delegated, often to seasoned pros who are much more capable than their boss in technical matters. The head must be granted the time to be present when and where the need arises, time to dream, time to build consensus on important issues, time to listen, time to spend with students, time to be alone. Remote administrators will not meet the challenges of the changing school environment any more than will absentee trustees. If the head can be fully present without being fragmented by the pressures of the school day, if he or she can be observed as one who searches with others for right decisions, then the original vocation of teaching will not be undermined and the headmaster will be free to guide and to support the faculty.

The Faculty

The faculty is the heart of the independent school. It often includes the individuals who are making the greatest personal investment in the school and the relationship of these teachers to the person who hires, fires, evaluates and promotes is a key determinant of a school's atmosphere. For better and for worse the contractual relationships in independent schools are becoming increasingly formal. On the positive side the exploitation of teachers is waning but the detrimental effect is the erosion of that trust which is so basic to any true community. On behalf of the faculty the head must strive for clear job descriptions, for progressive sabbatical and retirement policies, for salary advancement within the framework of the school's resources; and, for the sake of the students, the faculty must be encouraged to grow, to experment, to rest.

Teachers, of course, are centrally involved in the educational environments under attack in the reform studies. The profession is held accountable for traditional "up-front" tactics breeding passivity in the classroom and a preoccupation with control mechanisms. The indictment is too sweeping and one looks in vain for examples of outstanding instruction. Timpane observes the twin omisions: "the actors" are largely overlooked and "no important suggestions are advanced for alternative teacher training. motivation, monitoring, or evaluation."[19] Tenure and collective

bargaining problems receive attention primarily as obstacles to school reform and to date, few independent schools have encountered the extreme dangers of these forms of recalcitrance.

The reformers do recognize that faculty attitudes are critical to successful long term innovations. It is the faculty who ultimately strike the balance between cognitive and affective programs, between competitive and cooperative values. Gibbons believes "the teacher will experience the most profound and demanding change" in a more human school environment. Teachers will have to learn new roles and become more expert as consultants, guides and planners. The modeling of a "professional learning life-style" will perhaps become the cardinal teaching act.[20]

Teachers are criticized for their patronizing and authoritarian practices by the reformers, but we all know that instructors do and must have a natural authority. They know more than students. Many teach because they enjoy and believe in youth. Many independent school men and women are the kind of intelligent and engaging adults youth need to know. Command of subject, energy, teaching skill and use of class time build the student's respect for the teacher. The lecture approach has been overdone, but it should not be abandoned for do-it-yourself education. Rather, the person who lectures must be the same person who understands the developmental needs of adolescents and the one with developed listening skills. Teacher education is remiss in not stressing the discipline required in attentive listening. Anne Healy, former Headmistress of the Roland Park Country School, Baltimore, Maryland, has set forth these queries: "How can we feel or respond in the midst of the cacophony which surrounds us everywhere, and nowhere more patently than in our own voices? Do we not often talk when we should listen? Do we not, therefore, miss the insights and the dictates of an inner voice which comes when we sense the meaning hidden in the heart of the young person before us?"[21]

Student Attitudes

Perhaps no dimension of the school environment has changed more rapidly and significantly than the attitudes of the youth who inhabit it. Often they are sophisticated, self-centered and bent upon a wide range of individualistic aims. The Porter report cites the Yankelovich study revealing extensive shifts in the attitudes of America's youth since the late sixties. The changes have been

"abrupt" and according to Yankelovich they signal a new era in values held by our youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. A self-fulfillment ethic, more liberal sexual mores, resistance to established authority, and increased skepticism toward organized religion and traditional views of patriotism are among the new values. Porter sees these values as a serious threat to good citizenship and, with other reformers, calls for fresh initiatives in citizenship education.[22]

Alexander H. Hay, a forty year veteran of the boarding school community, has observed: "My instinct tells me that *the* threat to private, religiously oriented boarding schools is not financial in nature, nor yet governmental. Rather it is the radical shift in mores and rhetoric of the young people who are now, and who for some years to come will be, our students, Their dedication to anarchic individualism makes grievous demands on the communal energy a boarding school must have to sustain itself. The constant renewing of this energy is surely what leadership in a boarding school is all about."[23] The rhythms of hedonism among students attending day institutions pose a lesser threat, but the school environment is clearly permeated and altered by them.

Observing that the student "rights" movement has come a long way in a few years, the reformers stress student obligations to the community and to legitimate adult authority. Diana Baumrind, in her response to the Coleman report, asserts the need for limits in vigorous language:

> Adolescence is the time of life for the individual to come to terms with the reality principle. The universal experiences of loneliness, fear of failure, and insufficiency must be faced; they cannot be blocked indefinitely with drugs, sex, or, for that matter, obsessive involvement in work. The adolescent must learn (if he ever is going to learn) how to tolerate delay, control rage and sexual desire, sublimate, think rationally, act responsibly, endure suffering, adjust to that which cannot be altered and serve the community.[24]

The educator has, like the parent, the task of finding the creative tension between individuals' needs for both freedom and environmental controls.

If school communities are going to improvise Martin's "laboratories-for-error," they must have a secure and highly respected faculty who believe in the social maturation of the

student as one of the central purposes of the institution. Our boldest experiment at Westtown has been the releasing of the total operation of the school to students for one day. Every class was taught by a senior, every team coached by students, every administrative post manned by a student leader while the faculty was off campus on inservice training projects. There is ample room for error and growth in such an arrangement! Naturally the day has its shortcomings, but over the years it has demonstrated the faculty's trust in the students' ability to assume responsibility.

Students feel useful, appreciated and secure in a democratically administered school treasuring friendliness and the spirit of a shared enterprise. Youth want to be *in* this kind of atmosphere and generally they truly desire to add to it.

Personal Space

The reformers believe that school construction in recent decades has often proven to be counterproductive "functionally and psychologically." Cold hallways, mechanical services and depersonalized spaces have robbed youth from feelings of intimacy, tenderness and warmth. Reform architects stress the importance of personal turf. Every student must know where he can be alone and where he is standing at any given moment: "Where do I belong? Where can I hide? Where can I find my girl? Where can I work separately and with others?"[25]

Established or new, each school environment, ideally, will "allow itself to be manipulated." For years independent schools have made gyms, cafeterias and classrooms serve multiple purposes. Recycled space lends itself to creativity and gives faculty and students a real "sense of possession." Classrooms and hallways can reflect their activities and their ambitions. Allowing the individual to exploit and manipulate the use of space is a way of engaging him more fully in the process of learning. A subtle message is also present, "You can do it here. This is your time and place. This school belongs to you."

The "Hidden Curriculum"

The values, practices (deliberate and accidental), and people of every school help to determine its distinctive character as much, if not more, than the physical settings and catalogued purposes. The

"hidden curriculum" is a powerful determinant of the school's permanent moral impact. Gibbons observes that many students are trying to achieve self-understanding and alter states of consciousness through such techniques as personal counseling, meditation and yoga exercises. These individuals and others are, in a sense, tuned in or tuned out of the school environment according to its vibrations. Gibbons asks schools to find opportunities to speak to "the inner realm" and hopes that meditation can be added to such practices as concentrating, imagining, relaxing and reflecting. These activities, in part at least, are a response to the prohibition of prayer in public schools. Private schools clearly have a broader range of options. Within their jammed schedules, schools need a higher regard for solitude. Gibbons concludes, "Possibly these skills of self-understanding are – as they are in many other cultures – the basis and beginning, even the purpose of all education."[26]

The contemporary theologian, Harvey Cox, claims that young Americans are turning to oriental cults for simple human friendship, immediacy, authority to replace "choice-fatigue" and for natural spirituality.[27] Self-absorption is self-defeating, but educators might well note the needs of the young person which the meditation religions are trying to serve and exploit. Adolescence can be a very uncertain and lonely period.

The reform writers are sympathetic with the recent trends in values clarification and moral education. These programs are viewed as vehicles to intra-group understanding and adult citizenship roles. It is, however, quite unlikely that the moral education movement will produce significant new courses or techniques. Few public or private schools have or are likely to find appropriately trained teachers. The moral education movement can make us newly aware of the influence of the invisible curriculum. An autocratically administered school will not produce graduates with a working intuition for democratic processes. A provincial school environment will not foster a sensitive global outlook. If teachers do not manifest a reverence for life, youth leaving the school are less apt to develop and preserve it.

Nothing, in a sense, can replace the stimulation of inspired teaching, the appreciation for the sound use of evidence or the habit of mental alertness; but the morally progressive school also exposes its students, by the means of its invisible curriculum, to the vision of an emergent, non-violent and just society. The school itself becomes the living model for tomorrow. It is a protected,

humane environment, an alternative mini-world, encouraging young dreamers to see and feel the possibilities of an expanded peaceable kingdom. Of even greater importance, the teachers and tone of the independent school will inspire in our youth the confidence, the knowledge and the courage to work toward their vision without fear.

Footnotes

[1]John H. Martin, et al., *The Education of Adolescents* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 28.

[2]Martin, et al., p. 8.

[3]B. Frank Brown, et al., *The Reform of Secondary Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), p. 125.

[4]John W. Porter, et al., *The Adolescent, Other Citizens, and Their High Schools* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), p. 53.

[5]Ruth Weinstock, *The Greening of the High School*, Educational Facilities Laboratories and Institute for Development of Educational Activities, 1973, p. 71.

[6]Michael Timpane, Susan Abramowitz, Susan Berryman Bobrow, Anthony Pascal, *Youth Policy in Transition* (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1976), p. 11.

[7]Martin, et al., p. 8.

[8]Timpane, et al., p. 13.

[9]James S. Coleman, et al., *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 6.

[10]Coleman, et al., p. 125.

[11]"The Family of the Future," in *Wall Street Journal Views America Tomorrow*, ed. by Donald Moffitt, Dow Jones and Co., Inc., 1977, p. 18.

[12]*U.S. News and World Report*, July 18, 1977, p. 20.

[13]Weinstock, p. 31.

[14]To be fair, I must acknowledge Coleman's cryptic reservation about residential youth communities: "Although there is value in the residential principle, in practice it puts sharp limitations on the scope of youth communities." Coleman, et al., p. 165.

[15]Brown, et al., p. 100.

[16]Weinstock, p. 49.

[17]Porter, et al., p. 36.

[18]*This We Believe*, National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1975, pp. 54-55.

[19]Timpane, et al., p. 122.

[20]Maurice Gibbons, *The New Secondary Education* (Bloomington: Phi Delta Kappa, 1976), p. 160.

[21]Anne Healy, "Community and Commitment in the Schools," a speech given at the National Conference on Religion and Education, Atlantic City, 1959, quoted in Earl G. Harrison, Jr., "Teaching of Religion in Independent Schools," *Independent School Bulletin*, May, 1962, p. 60.

[22]Porter, et al., pp. 59-62.

[23]Letter to the author.

[24]Diana Baumrind, "Coleman II: Utopian Fantasy and Sound Social Innovation," *School Review*, 83:1 (November, 1974), p. 82.

[25]Weinstock, p. 50.

[26]Gibbons, p. 64.

[27]Harvey Cox, "Eastern Cults and Western Culture: Why Young Americans Are Buying Oriental Religions," *Psychology Today*, 11:2 (July, 1977), pp. 36-42.

CODA

The preceding papers demonstrate that, broadly speaking, these six independent school heads agree with the recent critics of secondary education – agree that schools must work for clarity of purpose, must reduce the isolation of the school, and must acknowledge the maturity of our students and grant them greater responsibility than we now do. But our response to the reports would be misleading if we did not indicate that the omissions in these documents are perhaps as important as the recommendations we generally support, at least to independent school people.

As we discussed the reports, we concentrated on what they did say, and worked hard to give them a fair review. This meant we did not indulge in extended discussion of the omissions, which would have been all too easy to do. But the omissions kept on surfacing at unexpected moments throughout our discussion: they were areas of "energy" that completed discussions vaguely incomplete without them. Frequently our references to omissions promised to provide more interesting approaches to the large issue of the best way of assisting youth in their transition to adulthood. I speak here especially of the panel's concern for 1) the role of the family, 2) the maintenance of academic quality, and 3) the importance of the *school* community.

The Role of the Family

I must begin by reiterating that we did not much discuss the role of the family in independent schools, but it was clear throughout our discussion that a number of panelists felt that any discussion of secondary education, especially one focusing on youth's transition to adulthood, must include extended discussion of the role of the family. We found it curious that the findings of Coleman, Jencks, and others on the importance of parents in the educational process have not had more impact on the reform reports. Our strongest awareness of the family's role in the educational process came in our discussion of the increasing diversity of our student population, and the variety of student and parental expectations we are now asked to speak to. Independent schools do believe in individualizing education as much as possible, but we found ourselves pondering how much educational pluralism we could tolerate and still keep a clear sense of purpose or mission within our schools.

If we are to both individualize education and to broaden its definition, we must have the support of our parents, more clearly define their role in the educational process, and then elicit their involvement. Numbers of independent schools – especially elementary ones – aspire to be family schools, and see parent education as an important and necessary function for the school. As we talked, therefore, of integrating a secondary student's life into a broader context, we frequently talked of the family – of building bridges to the family – rather than of the community, which was the thrust of so much of the thinking in the reform reports.

The Maintenance of Academic Quality

Once again, the need to maintain academic quality as we move to implement the recommendations of the reports was a given, rather than the subject of much discussion. Indeed, we became concerned that the necessary changes in secondary education proposed in the reports will be too easily dismissed by independent schools because they are not complemented in the reports by a concern for academic quality.

The issue of academic quality is compounded for most independent schools by our reputation and function as college preparatory institutions. If the proposals in the reports are incompatible with sound college preparation, independent schools will probably not be very responsive to the recommendations in the reports. But the question is obviously one of degree and the trade-offs that will have to be made as our schools broaden their function. And the panel of heads approved of this broadening of function – this increased attention to the maturational needs of students – as long as it is individualized and takes into account both students' and parents' desires for strong college preparation.

But the maintenance of academic quality in our schools is not exactly the same as sound college preparation, nor did the heads assume that it is. The group was clearly more concerned that students be introduced to a strong liberal arts education; that students be trained in rigorous analysis and provided with skills for further life-long learning, and that students be aware of their cultural heritage – its glory and its limitations. Sadly, the reports generally do not "talk this language," but we do not believe they need be rejected on this account. Rather they challenge us with the possibility of finding new loci and methods that will accomplish these purposes in ways that enhance a student's total growth, rather than merely his or her intellectual development.

The Importance of School Community

The one subject not addressed in the reports that did receive extended discussion by the panel was that of school community. Hickey, in the NCEA response to the reports, lamented the absence of concern for the tone of the school, the human environment in which good education takes place, and the panel concurs. The papers "The Organization of Change" and "The Quality of the Expanding School Environment" speak to our concern for school environment as a, perhaps *the*, key element in the educational process.

As we talked, the school heads became concerned that, in the laudable attempt to break down the isolation of the school, and in the concurrent recommendations for more educational activity outside the school, the maintenance of school community would be clearly tested. Indeed, those independent schools that have made significant commitments to off-campus education are now reassessing that decision, or at the least searching for ways to revitalize the sense of community within the school and searching for ways to create a more seamless on and off campus education, one that will not be marked by the fragmentation some are now beginning to feel. Again, it may be that the creation of a strong school community requires considerable isolation; or put differently, that training for responsibility and independence must be at the expense of a strong school community. But we refuse to acknowledge this incompatibility of purpose.

One further note on school community. Faculty and administration are not only part of the school community; they are its glue – the ongoing group responsible for articulating the sense of social community to fresh faces each year. And the school heads are clearly worried about the social and political dynamic among adults in the school. The diversity of values and expectations that we find in society at large is reflected in our schools, and writ large given the adults' influential roles in the school community. If independent schools are to maintain a sense of community, it will be necessary that the adults in the school redefine that community.

School Community - Community Schools

Where then are we? I suggest that both the panel and the authors of the reports are in their own way most concerned about community – about the social context of the educational process. For independent schools, the approach is to talk of school com-

munity, which by definition is a thing apart from the larger community. When one speaks of the community served by independent schools, one is generally speaking of a rather narrowly defined body – those who pay tuition or have some special relationship with the school: students, parents, alumni, special friends. As such, as sympathetic as we may be to the reports, and as far as we may go to implement some of the commission's recommendations, the vision of many of the reformers – for a school that is an integral part of the community (defined as neighborhood, or as town, or district) and reflects the social values and aspirations of that community – will probably not be fully realized in independent schools in the immediate future.

For viewing the reform reports in the broadest sense, I believe they grope toward the ideal of a community school. Although they identify the isolation of the school from the ongoing work, life and values of the community as the single greatest obstacle to effective education – although *isolation* is made the issue – the majority of their recommendations are aimed at easing transition to adulthood through making the high school a more integral part of the community. That is, at base, they concern themselves with the social function of education: the creation and maintenance of an ongoing *community*.

It is in this context that we should view many of the proposals in the reports: that schools encourage a re-examination by the community served of the purposes of secondary education; that off-campus programs be set up that would require education in the community with the support and facilitation of local citizens; that some of the functions of the school become assumed by the community. Although the approach to these recommendations is generally based on the needs of the students and the most beneficial means for a transition to adult life, the end result would be to make the community a part of the school and bridge the gap that keeps the schools isolated.

Independent schools must aspire to make their schools part of the larger community or risk the isolation that will increasingly prove frustrating and detrimental to students and the schools. The reform reports are clear on this issue. As we become part of the larger community, we believe that the contribution we can make to the community school ideal is to work towards the ideal school community, to maintain our academic quality, and to involve parents more in the work of our schools.

* * * * *

It is tempting to end with the exhortation of the preceding paragraph, but to do so would belie the spirit in which the panel has worked. As we met for the last time, we began to feel that the essays were perhaps excessively serious, and in strong contrast to our more "extravagant" discussions. We were reminded of a passage from Emerson that should be better known.

> It is ominous, a presumption of crime, that this word Education has so cold, so hopeless a sound. A treatise on education, a convention for education, a lecture, a system, affects us with a slight paralysis, a certain yawning of the jaws.[1]

Our discussions never became soporific, not even when we discussed the isolation issue sequestered for a full day without leaving our windowless meeting and eating room. And we became even more ironic as we discussed dejuvenilization over water pitchers with faulty spouts, and the purpose of education in a room in which the clock had stopped. Perhaps irony and good humor are the characteristic defenses of the pastor who finds himself a manager.

Our hope is that others will use this booklet to have discussions as provocative, buoyant, and "lifty" as ours have been. We feel that we have ended at a beginning: with greater clarity about the issues and our tasks, and a desire to now begin the discussion again, with a new set of issues arising out of the three we started with. Perhaps the group's feeling about our effort – and the need for a serious consideration of these reform reports and the issues they raise – is best summarized by one head's remark as this booklet went to press:

> For all our talk about the reports, I feel that I'm only now entering into far greater clarity about what the stakes are. I think we see the needs adolescents have, we know what we want for them and know how much we in schools care about them. But the question is how far are we willing to go to individualize the progress of youth to allow for complete development? The final issue becomes the courage of the administrator to make necessary changes. How much courage do we have?

Footnotes

[1] *The Portable Emerson*, edited by Mark Van Doren (New York: Viking, 1946), p. 254.

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